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THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE AND THE SYMPOSIA OF OPORTO UNIVERSITY

AUTHOR

A. Barbedo de Magalhães
Professor, Coordinator of the Symposia

EDITION

President's Office
Oporto University

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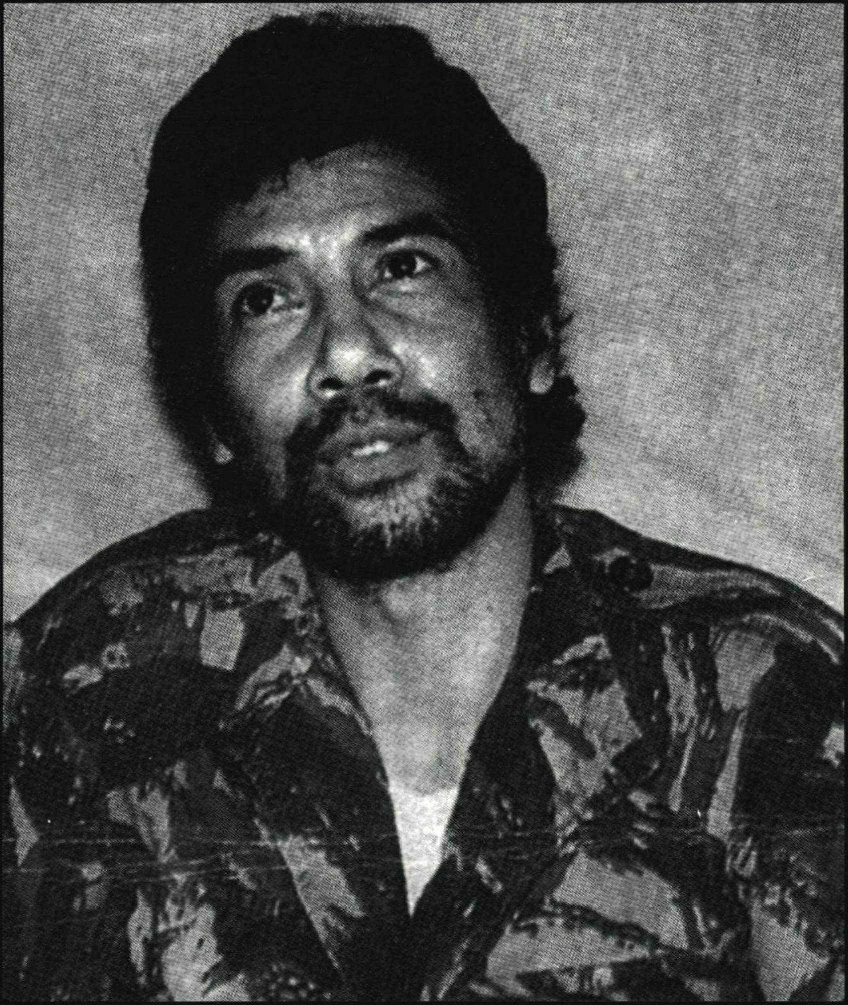

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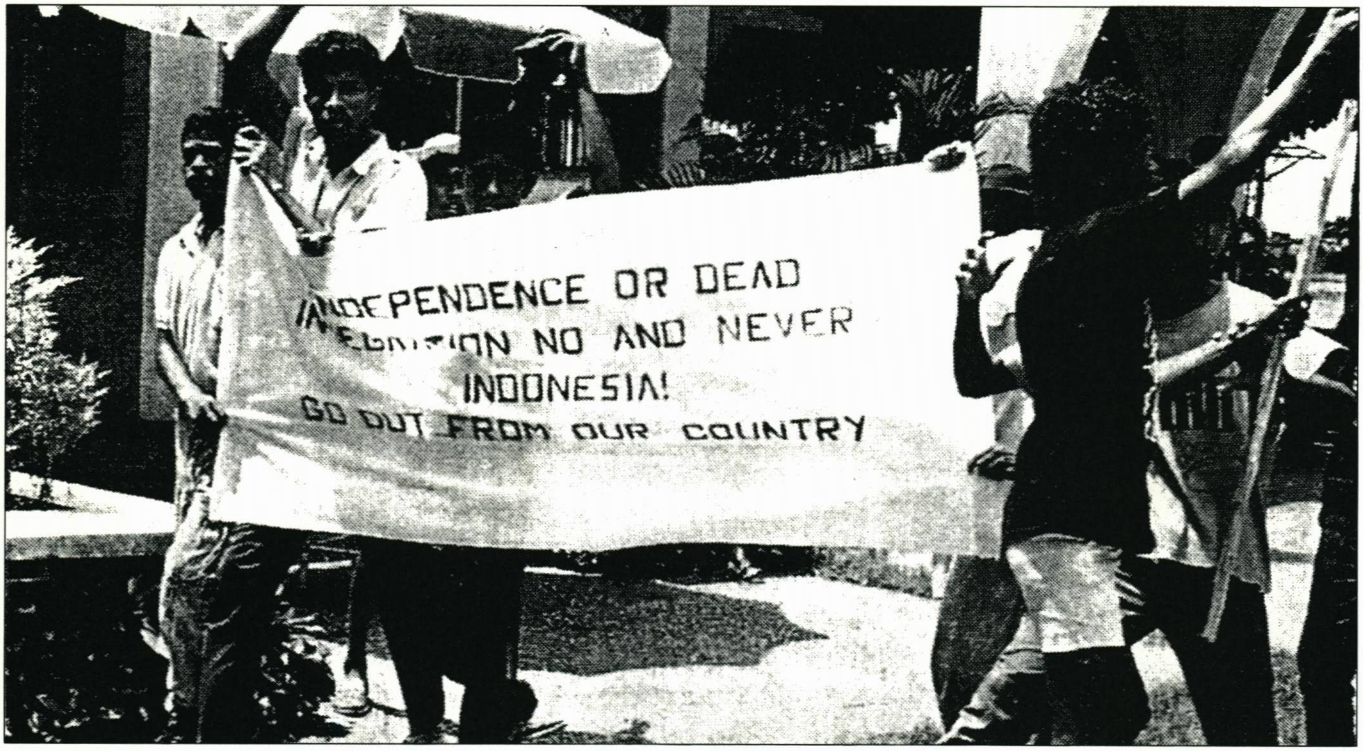
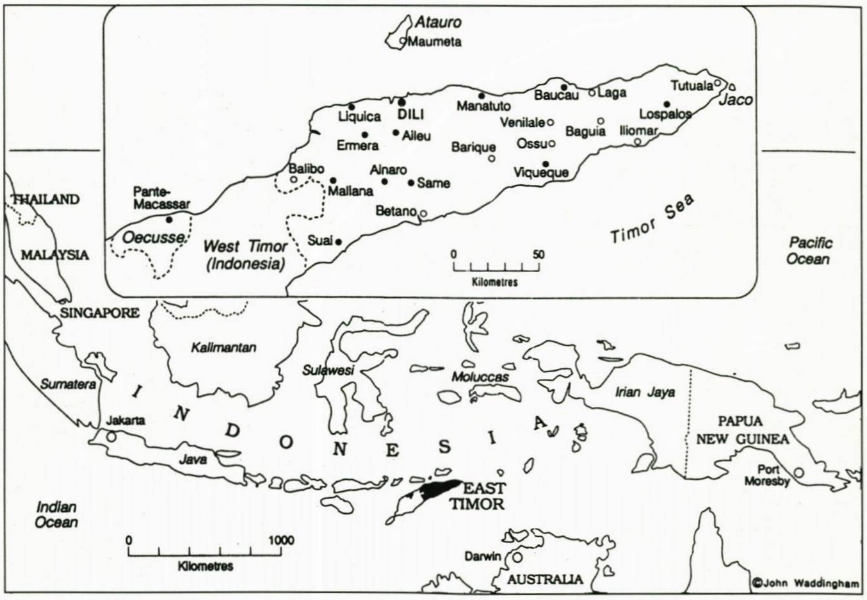

INDEPENDENCE OR DEAD
INTEGRATION NO AND NEVER
INDONESIA!
GO OUT FROM OUR COUNTRY

Young people demonstrating in Dili, East Timor capital.

1

EAST TIMOR INTERRUPTED DECOLONIZATION OF A PEOPLE WITH ITS OWN IDENTITY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Oecusse
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SINGAPORE
Kalimantan
Sumatera
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Moluccas
Irian Jaya
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Jakarta
I N D O N E S I A
Java
Port Moresby
EAST TIMOR
Indian Ocean
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1000
Kilometres
Darwin
AUSTRALIA
©John Waddingham

The territory of East Timor has a surface of 18,899 Km^2, including the enclave of Oe-Cusse, the island of Atauro and the islet of Jaco. It is three times grater than Brunei (5,765 Km^2), in the north of Kalimantan (or Borneu) and slightly bigger than Kuwait (17,818 Km^2). Like those two states, East Timor is a very oil rich country.

East Timor is bigger then forty states having seats in the United Nations. It is also the most populous non-autonomous territorys registered at the UN.

Although its etnolinguistic similarities, and some cultural roots identical with other regions belonging, today, to Indonesia, the religious currents influencing the main Empires of Insulindia had not established any roots when the first Portuguese sailors reached Timor around 1515.

In fact the elites of the Shrivijaya empire (sec. VII to X dC) centred in Sumatra as well as those of the Madjapahit empire (Sec. XIII to XV dC) with capital in Java were Hindo-Buddhist. Even Islam, introduced and spread in the archipelago since de begining of the XVth century, did not take root in Timor And this in spite of the trade existing with China, Malaca and several islands now integrating Indonesia.

During the third quarter of the sixteenth century the first Portuguese Dominican friars settled permanently in the territory, exercising progressively greater cultural and religious influence, while Portuguese dominance was being consolidated.

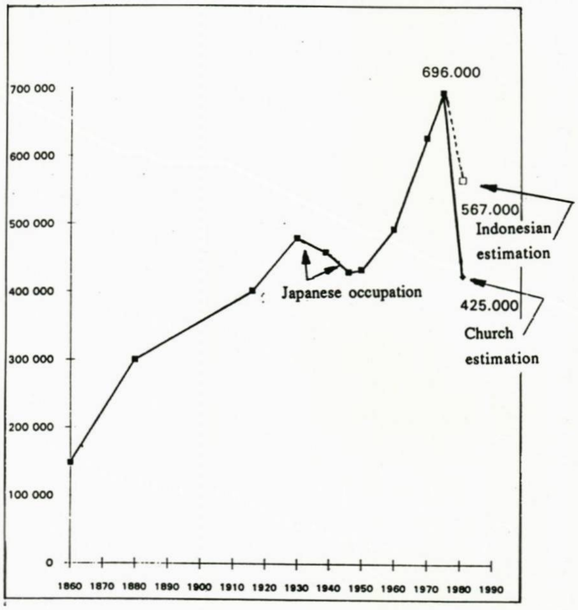
In 1651 the Dutch conquered Kupang, on the western end of Timor and the division of the island between the two colonial powers started. In 1895 a treaty signed by Portugal and the Low Countries (Holand) established the border between Portuguese Timor (East Timor) and West Timor.

In 1945 the Dutch East Indies became the Republic of Indonesia, of which West Timor is a part. Between 1945 and June 1974 the Indonesian government, in accordance with international law, affirmed both in the United

Nations and on other occasions that it had no territorial pretensions whatsoever toward East Timor.

In 1960, East Timor was considered by the United Nation as a non-autonomous territory under Portuguese administration, according to Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960. After 1962 and until 1973 the General Assembly of the United Nations approved successive resolutions recognizing the right to self-determination of East Timor (and of all existing Portuguese colonies).

Mean while, during World War II, the Japanese invasion and occupation (in the sequence of a previous invasion by Australia and Holand) caused the death of between sixty and seventy thousand Timorese. Transfering the war with the Japanese to Timor, the Australians lost only 21.000 men, one third of the Timorese, in spite of the fact that Australia was a belligerant and Portugal a neutral country. East Timor (Portuguese Timor) was one of the three countries with highest casualties in percentage. Taking into account that the whole population of East Timor was, in 1942, 480,000 people, the losses during the war, ranging between 12,5% and 14,6% are similar to those of the ex-Soviet Union (14%), only exceeded by Poland (18%). Australian losses represented only 0.3% of the population of this belligerant country.



The impact of the Indonesian invasion and occupation in the population (above) and in the livestock (below).

	1973 (thousands)	1979 (thousands)	Percentile reduction
Buffaloes	141	24	83%
Horses	139	15	89%
Pigs	305	27	91%
Sheep and Goats	318	36	88%

Portuguese Timor was one of the most underdeveloped countries when, in 1974/75 the ex-colonial power, Portugal, started a real decolonisation of this non self governed territory.

The fear of Communist advance prevailing in many countries in 1975, when Saigon fell into the hands of the Communist forces of the Vietcong, led Indonesia to provoke instability in Timor (Operasi Komodo) fomenting the civil war in order to justify and open the way to the annexation. The civil war would finaly start in August 1975. The conflict between the two main Timorese political forces lasted for one month, and provoked around 2,000 deaths. The Portuguese Administration retired to Atauro island, with the 70 European operational troops under its control, to avoid becoming hostage to the belligerants. In fact this happened to 23 members of Portuguese Army, emprisoned by one of the Timorese political forces later handed over to Indonesian Forces that rept these 23 Portuguese as hostage for one year.

In the meantime the Portuguese Governor refused the *"protection"* of Indonesian Navy when Destroyer Mon Icidi was already in its way to Dili to pick him up.

All of this took place in August 1975 when Portugal itself was under considerable risk of falling into civil war aswell, and then impotent to reestablish the order and to conduct the self-determination process to the end.

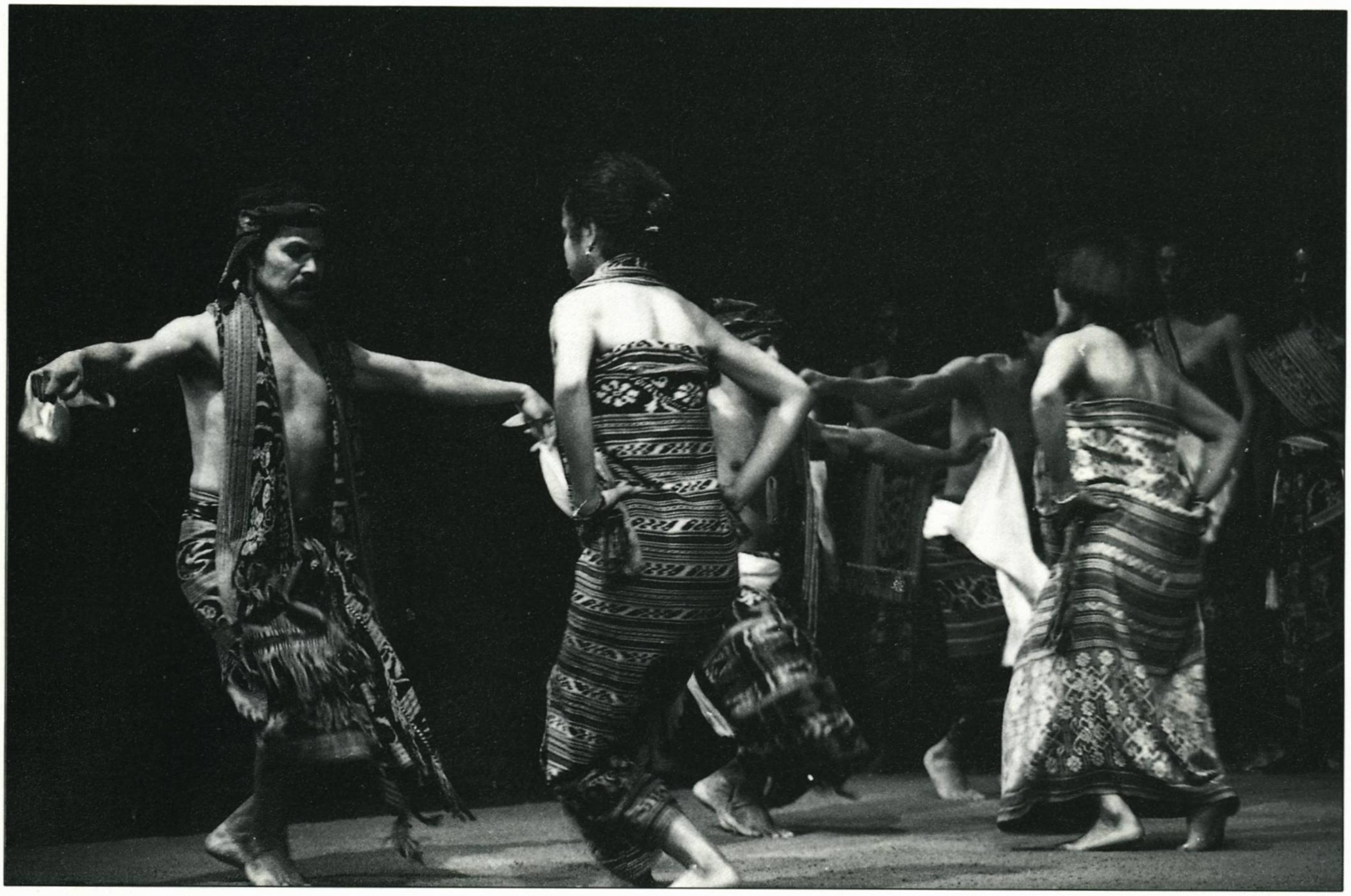
The forces against this, and supporting Indonesian anexionist policy, were too strong: — The United States of America, Australia, Japan, United Kingdom and the governments of many other countries in fact favored Indonesia's take over of East Timor. And, when in 1976 the Portuguese democracy gained stability, Indonesia had already invaded Timor on December 1975, just some hours after President Ford of the USA and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta where they had just met President Suharto.

On the day of the invasion, Portugal, as Administering Power of East Timor, introduced a complain in the United Nations and requested an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to take stance on the *"act of aggression"* which the Republic of Indonesia had carried out against the territory. In the meantime the Portuguese Government broke off diplomatic relations with Indonesia. Shortly thereafter the Portuguese Administration, impotent before the Indonesian forces envolved and lacking real support from the international community, left Atauro, abandoning the territory of East Timor.

Bishop Ximenes Belo and other independent observers estimate that 250,000 (two hundred fifty thousand) Timorese, out of 700,000 in 1975, have perished as a consequence of Indonesian invasion and occupation. We can consider this as one of the greatest genocides in history: — more than one thrid of the whole population was annihilated. In relative figures this represents much more than the killings in Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge regime, and is even worse than the more recent genocide occurring in Ruanda.

When they began the invasion, in 7 December 1975, Indonesian generals were sure that they would have all the territory under complet control in a maximum of three weeks. They forgot that in spite of the almost complete abandonment of the International Community, the East Timorese have their own identity that has only been strenghened as a consequence of the invasion and forced annexation. Also, in 1974/75 the Timorese had experienced freedom and committed themselves, with enormous enthusiasm, to their build own country which would finally have been possible due to Portuguese decolonisation.

Timorese refugee demonstrating traditional weaving arts in a Symposium of Oporto University (OU).



Timorese dance.

2

EAST TIMOR IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PORTUGUESE POSITION UNTIL 1986

The Symposia on Timor of Oporto University, which first took place in September 1989, marked the beginning of a systematic involvement of Oporto University, first, and a growing number of universities, later, in the defense of the human rights of the Timorese and of the primary right whose violation implies the violation of all other rights: the right to self-determination.

Prior to this, numerous public sessions, exhibitions and debates related to Timor had taken place in several Portuguese universities. These were nearly always sponsored, however, by student associations, groups of students or professors, rarely formally involving the respective universities or their Presidents.

From 1976 until 1986, Portuguese policy on the East Timor issue was very timid and cautious. The priorities of the Portuguese State were the consolidation of democracy — conquered by the Revolution of 25 April 1974, which put an end to nearly fifty years of dictatorship and fourteen years of colonial war — and economic development. In order to achieve them in a lasting fashion, the option — and constant concern — of suc-cessive governments was the integration of Portugal into the European Community.

Timorese dressings and danses evoked in a Symposium of OU.

It used to be said, then, among politicians, that the governments of the European Community (now Union), given their important trade relations and common interests with Indonesia, would not like for Portugal to raise the issue of Timor. An identical attitude was felt on the side of the United States.

Taking into account its small economical and military dimension and its political fragility, successive Portuguese governments opted for a relative silencing of the Timor issue, though without abdicating Portugal's responsibilities as Administering Power of the Non-Autonomous Territory of East Timor of promoting and guaranteeing the exercise to self-determination of its people, as is specified in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic.

This same demand is, indeed, part of the many resolutions approved by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, such as:

Resolution No. 3845 (XXX) of the General Assembly, approved on 12 December 1975 (five days after the Indonesian invasion, which began in Dili, the capital of the territory, on 7 December 1975), according to which the General Assembly:

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of Portugal, as the administering Power, concerning developments in East Timor... (the General Assembly) strongly deplores the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor... calls upon the government of Indonesia to... withdraw without delay its armed forces from the territory, in order to enable the people of the Territory freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence" and recommends to the Security Council that *"take urgent action to protect the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self determination."*

Resolution no 384 (1975), of the Security Council, unanimously approved on 22 December 1975, which:

"1. Calls upon all states to respect the territorial integrity of Timor, as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination, in accordance with General Assembly Resultion 1514 (XV);
2. Calls upon the government of Indonesia to retire without delay all of its forces from the territory:
3. Calls upon the government of Portugal as administering Power, to cooperate fully with the United Nations so as to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination (...)"

Resolution no 389 (1976) approved by the Security Council of the UN on 22 April 1976, with 12 votes in favor, none against and with the abstentions of the United States of America and of Japan, in which

"Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence (...) calls upon the government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the territory"

After the Indonesian government organized a farce which it labeled self-determination, and President Suharto proclaimed the integration of East Timor in the Indonesian Republic as its 27th province (though it did not control more than 15% of the population and there was no free and democratic consultation of the will of the Timorese people), on 1 December 1976 the UN General Assembly approved, by a large majority, a resolution in which it:

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve this right,
Reaffirms the previous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

"Strongly deplores the persistent refusal of the government of Indonesia to comply with the abovementioned resolutions; (...)

"5. Rejects the claim that East Timor has been integrated into Indonesia, inasmuch as the people of the territory have not been able to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence."

Other subsequent UN resolutions followed the same pattern.

Finally, Resolution no 37/30 of 23 November 1982

"... requests the UN Secretary General to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem (...)"

After this, conversations began between the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspicies of the UN Secretary-General, which led the Indonesian Foreign Minister to receive in October 1994 the representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance, Dr. José Ramos Horta.

It should be noted that the Timorese Resistance (of East Timor) adopted from the very first the designation Maubere for its people, a designation which has come to be recognized and used internationally.

3

1986,
A TURNING POINT

The year of 1986 was an important turning point for the Maubere cause.

On the one hand, following the example of the Timorese Resistance in the interior and corresponding to an appeal of its leader, Xanana Gusmão, the representatives outside Timor of the two main Timorese political organizations, FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) and UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) signed on 18 March a mutual cooperation agreement in which they defended the *"instauration of a democratic, Western-style democratic regime in East Timor"*, once independence was reached.

On the other hand, the entrance of Portugal in the European Economic Community (EEC), now the European Union (EU), gave it strength on the international scence which previously it had not dared to use.

The President of Portugal Dr. Mario Soares, spoke for the first time in the European Parliament, on 9 July 1986, where he manifested his indignation at the dramatic situation of the people of East Timor. The following day the same Parliament approved by a vast majority (162 votes in favor, 3 against and 4 abstentions) a resolution in which it affirms:

"A. — Considering that since December 1975 Indonesis has occupied by force, in disregard of international law, the territory of East Timor, (the European Parliament)

"1. Calls upon the government of Indonesia to cease immediately all hostilities against the inhabitants of East Timor, to put an end to the occupation of this territory and respect the right of the Maubere people to self-determination..."

After this, the European Parliament approved several other resolutions with a meaning identical to that of the July 1986 one. We will quote only two more:

In the resolution of 15 September 1988 the European Parliament states:

"Considering that the territory of East Timor was invaded and occupied on 7 December 1975, was illegally annexed in July 1976 and has been since then subject to forced occupation by Indonesia, that this situation has provoked the genocide of a third of the population
(...)
"1. Condemns the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and supports the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor;
"2. Defends the right of the people of East Timor to maintain, develop and affirm its cultural, linguistic, and religious identity, which is the consequence of its own history;
"3. Condemns the Indonesian policy of denying independent foreign visitors the possibility of freely examining the situation in the territory and of investigating alleged human rights violations
(...)
"9. Urges member states of the European Community to take political initiatives to contribute to the withdrawal

of Indonesian troops from East Timor, which is an indispensable condition for the respect of fundamental human rights of the populations and for the exercise of the right to self-determination including the right to independence, and to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General so that these objectives may be achieved;
"10. Requests of the UN Secretary-General that, in his efforts to find a solution to the conflict, not only Portugal and Indonesia be heard, but also representatives of the people of East Timor, the Nationalist Convergence:
"11. Calls upon governments of all Community member states to suspend sales of military equipment to Indonesia until this country puts an end to the illegal occupation of East Timor
(...)
"15. Draws the attention of all EEC institutions to the present colonial situation in East Timor and the terms of the present resolution in the relations that develop in the framework EEC-ASEAN (...)."

The resolution of 23 November 1989, approved after the papal visit to the territory and the repression which followed it:

"1. (...) Reaffirms its demand that the riht to self-determination end independence of the people of East Timor be recognized, according to the norms of international law;
(...)
"4. Condemns, once more, the genocide being carried out by Indonesia in East Timor."

So that Portuguese public opinion might become aware of this turnaround and so that the Portuguese government might take better advantage of this change, several sessions and debates were organized in Oporto University

The first, presided over by the President of Oporto University, Professor Alberto Amaral, who had just been elected to this post, took place on 28 July 1986. In this session, the fraud of the elections organized by Indonesia in East Timor in 1982 was denounced. In this election the number of votes was, according to Indonesian official data, above the number of voters enrolled on the voting lists. Taking into account the lack of freedom of the Timorese and the manipulation of the elections by the Jakarta regime (and the abovementioned fraud, which was mentioned by the former Apostolic Adminstrator of Dili, Mons. Martinho da Costa Lopes), the organizer of the session defended the idea that Portugal should firmly reject any international pseudo-observation which might attempt to legitimize elections organized by the occupying power, which obviously would be neither free nor democratic, and which could easily be manipulated by the dictatorial power of Jakarta.

A fortunate coincidence was that the public session took place on the eve of the meeting of the Council of State, which, it would seem, supported this same position, which inviabilized any legitimation of the elections which in 1987 the Indonesian regime would organize in East Timor (and whose official results would show, once again, a number of votes higher than the number of enrolled voters...)

Between 17 November l986 and 26 January 1987, with the backing of the President of Oporto University, a cycle of debates took place in this university under the theme "East Timor: 1986, in Turning Point".

4

THE FIRST SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OPORTO UNIVERSITY – SEPTEMBER 1989 – AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONALIST CONVERGENCE

Although other public sessions had taken place in Oporto University between 1986 and September, 1989, it was indeed with the First Symposium on Timor of Oporto University that a Portuguese university, a President's Office, and a President, for the first time opened its doors wide to the Maubere Cause, which at last was able to count on the support of a university and national institution of great prestige.

The objectives of the First Symposium, which took place in the Faculty of Engineering of Oporto on 10/17 September 1989, were:

"To learn about the history, culture, potential and reality of East Timor"

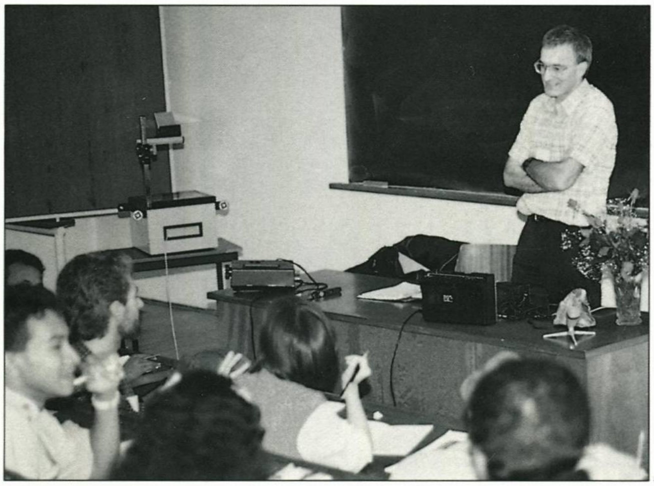
on the one hand, and

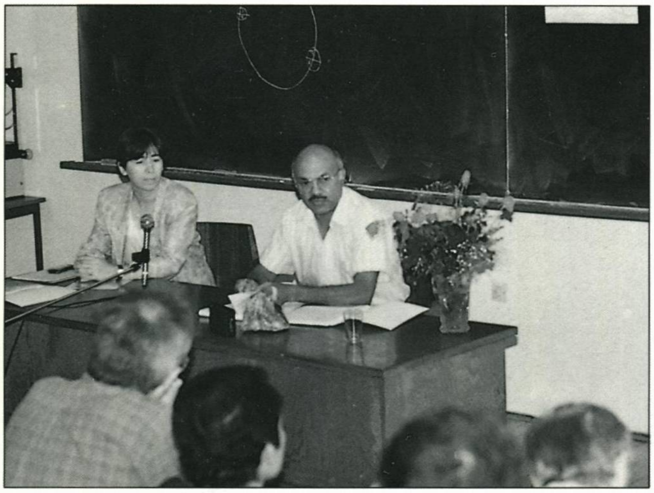
The press has highlighted the presence of the leaders of Timorese Convergence, Abílio Araújo (FRETiLIN) and Vicente Guterres (UDT) in a session presided by Deputy-President of OU, Professor Nuno Grande.

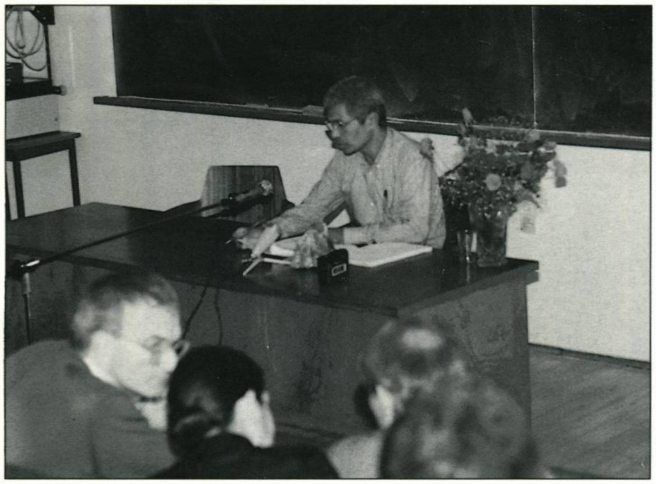
Presentes dirigentes da Convergência Nacionalista

***Porto** divulga cultura Maubere*

Natalina Horta (José Ramos Horta's mother) and Fátima Guterres, widow of a Timorese resistance fighter, presented dramatic testimonies of the genocide of their people and gave an important contribution by bringing their culture alive during the first Symposium.







"To create a space and opportunity for the agents of Timorese culture and those who have made its recent history to acknowledge and express themselves as such, revealing its history and culture."

In it participated 20 Timorese and 10 non-Timorese, as was the wish of the organizers.

The Timorese invited to participate in this first Symposium belonged to FRETILIN and UDT. One of the goals was precisely to contribute to an approach among Timorese with different political options, who were still traumatized by the brief civil war, which had taken place in August September 1975 under the influence and at the instigation of the Indonesian regime, in order to consolidate the fragile Nationalist Convergence, which had been formally established in 1986 between UDT and FRETILIN.

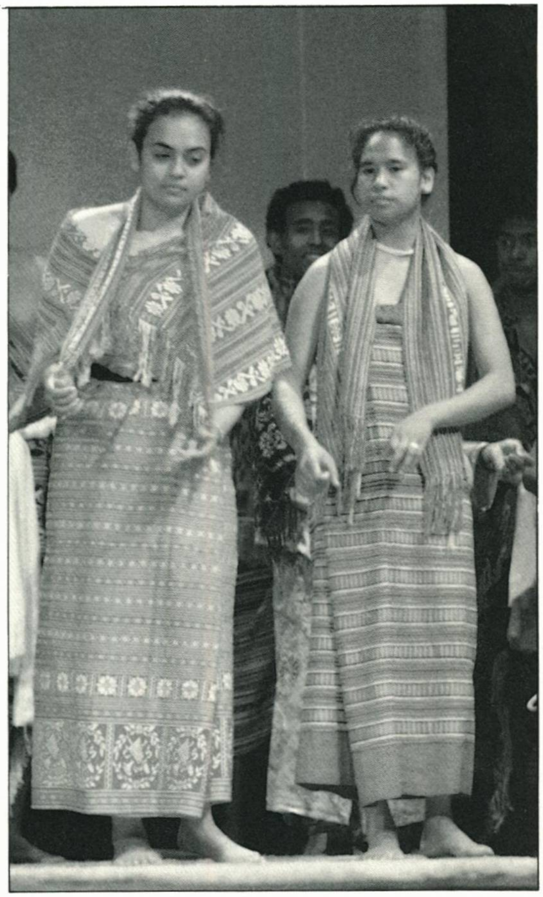
The results of the eight days of work in common, in this Symposium, could not have been better. One of the results was a play on the life, death and struggle of the Maubere people, presented in the closing session with the title:

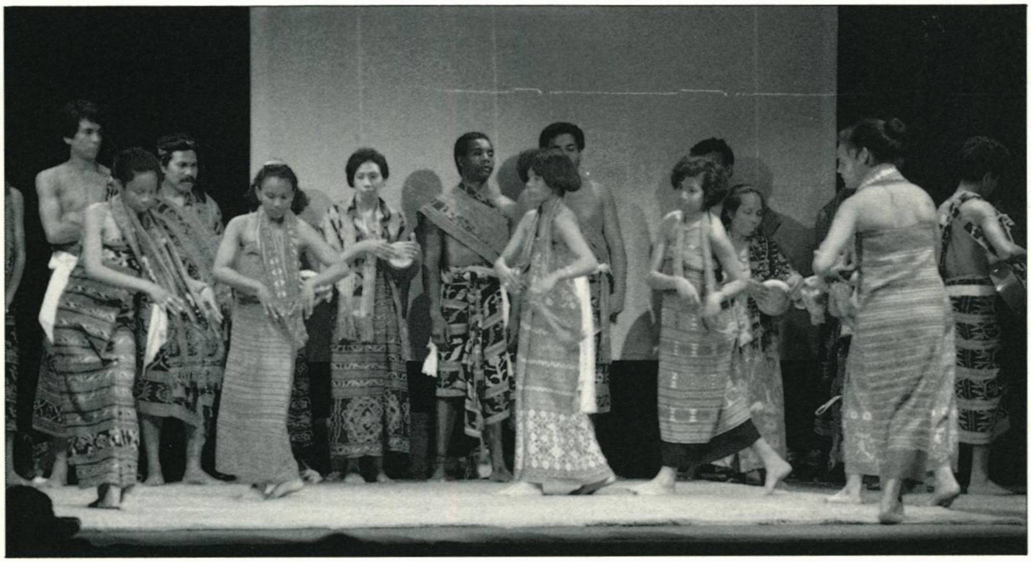
"The people of Timor can no longer be anybody's slave."

Collaboration between Timorese of different ideologies was excellent. Bridges for dialogue and cooperation between Timorese refugees in Portugal were reinforced.

Speakers at the first Symposium on Timor of OU:

- ***Henry Campagnolo, anthropologist;***
- ***Conceição Rendeiro, public health specialist, and Francisco Xavier de Meneses, ex-Mayor of Dili;***
- ***Gregório Henriques, nurse, telling how the Resistance produced tradicional medicines in the mountains using local plants.***





Timorese costumes and dances in a Symposium of OU.

5

II SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OPORTO UNIVERSITY – APRIL-MAY 1990: – STRENGTHENING HOPE, IN SPITE OF DIFFICULTIES

Problems which had in the meantime appeared on the diplomatic front of the struggle of the Maubere Resistance, partly resulting from the new difficulties of dialogue among some Timorese leaders, determined that from 28 April to 1 May 1990 the Second Symposium on Timor of Oporto University would take place. Its theme was *"East Timor: Land of Hope."*

Almost completely different from the First, it was based more on diplomatic and political issues. Nearly 150 participants enrolled. Among them was an important delegation from the Ad Hoc Committe for East Timor of the Portuguese Parliament, including MP Sousa Lara, President of the Committee.

Dr. Rui Quartim Santos (left) and General Ramalho Eanes, ex-President of Portugal (1976-1981 and 1981-1986).

The ex-President of Portugal, General Ramalho Eanes also took part, along with Dr. Rui Quartim Santos of the Foreign Ministry, etc.

Timorese Nationalist Convergence was represented by its leaders abroad, of FRETILIN (Dr. Abilio Araujo) and UDT (Dr. Paulo Pires), as well as the former representative of FRETILIN to the UN, Dr. Ramos Horta.

In addition, five foreigners took part, including an Indonesian political refugee, Liem Soei Liong, editor of the TAPOL Bulletin, a bimonthly review published in the UK on the political situation and human rights

IL A 1 DE MAIO

MP Sousa Lara, Presidente of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Timor (left), Professor Alberto Amaral, President of Oporto University, and the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr, Bishop of New York (Ret) of the Pentecostal Church (Anglican Communion), USA.

in Indonesia and East Timor; an Australian jurist, a British professor and the Bishop of New York (Ret), Paul Moore Jr., of the Pentecostal Church (Anglican Communion) and his wife.

The Australian jurist, Sasha Stepan, has denounced the connivance of the government of her country in the Indonesian take over of East Timor, in order to get easier acces to the enourmous oil resources of the Timor sea, among other reasons.

In the Second Symposium, Bishop Paul Moore Jr., of great prestige in the United States, painted a dramatic picture of the situation, based on his December 1989 visit to the territory with his wife.

His participation in the Symposium, as well as the contacts which took place with the Government and the President of Portugal in the following days, were of the greatest interest. The same can be said of the subsequent actions of Bishop Paul Moore Jr. with members of the American Congress and others in defense of the people of East Timor and their rights.

On 3 May the Portuguese Parliament approved unanimously a vote of congratulations for the realization of the II Symposium on Timor of OU (Oporto University).

The conclusions of the debates were registered in a document of Synthesis sent to the governing bodies with proposals for initiatives in order to *"promote and guarantee the right to self-determination of East Timor"*, as stipulated in the Portuguese Constitution.

Of the several proposals made at this time, some were carried out, such as:

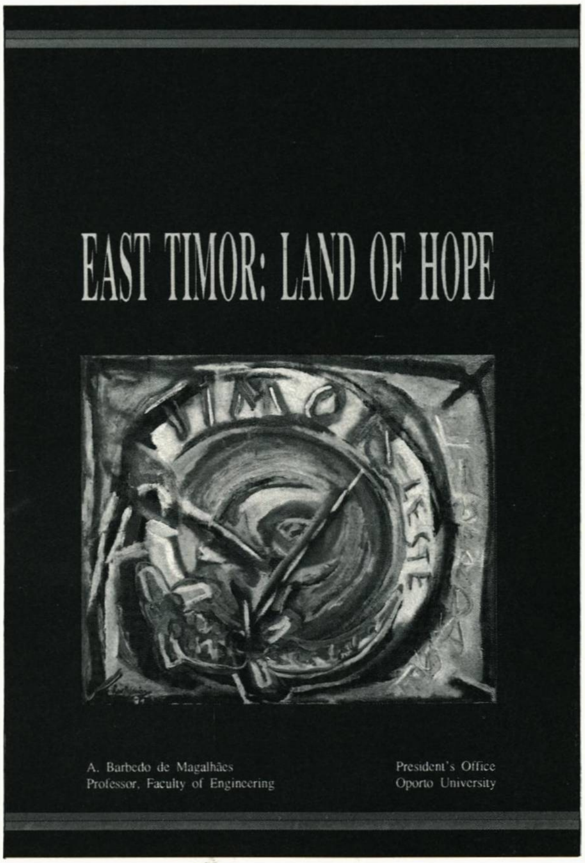
The presentation by Portugal of a lawsuit, in the International Court of Justice of the Hague, against the treaty signed between Indonesia and Australia regarding the oil in the Sea of Timor ("Timor Gap");

The creation of a radio program on RDP International for Timor;

The development of lobbying activities in Washington and other capitals, etc.

Regarding dialogue and cooperation among Timorese leaders abroad who had previously been in conflict, a climate of reconciliation an coopperation (which was highly useful while it lasted) was created.

The President's Office of Oporto University published nearly two years later a book in Portuguese, French and English on this initiative, titled "East Timor: Land of Hope", which was sent to hundreds of specialists in Indonesian affairs and to many foreign universities.



EAST TIMOR: LAND OF HOPE

A. Barbedo de Magalhães
Professor, Faculty of Engineering

President's Office
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II Jornadas decorrem na Universidade do Porto

SE PORTUGAL NÃO ACTUAR NA CENA INTERNACIONAL A QUESTÃO DE TIMOR PODE SER ESQUECIDA

– afirmou a especialista australiana Sasha Stepan ao JN

«Se Portugal não actuar na cena interna-cional, passando das meras ameaças aos actos, há o risco de Timor-Leste e o seu povo poderem vir a ser pura e simplesmente esquecidos» — disse ao JN a especialista australiana em relações internacionais Sasha S. Stepan, da Faculdade de Economia e Política da Monash University da Austrália.

Esta especialista participa nas II Jornadas de Timor que decorrem na Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto, tendo apre-

instâncias internacionais não são hoje vistas na Austrália como credíveis» — disse ainda.

Sasha Stepan recorda que

II JORNADAS
DE TIMOR DA
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
28 DE ABRIL A 1 DE MAIO

The press emphasized the importance of Sasha Stepan's speach on the role of Portugal in the international scene, and reproduced the statments of Bishop Paul Moore, Jr. about the terror prevailing in Dili that reminded him of Saigon in 1970.

Bispo de Nova Iorque

Díli lembrava Saigão em 1970

MANTÊM-SE O TERROR E O MEDO EM TIMOR

- confirmou o bispo norte-americano Paul Moore ao JN

6

III SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OU – MAY 1991 – OR THE APPEAL TO THE VATICAN FOR A MORE COHERENT COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF THE HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE TIMORESE

The III Symposium on Timor of OU, with the theme *"East Timor, Portugal and the International Community"* was very brief. It took place in the Faculty of Engineering on 9-11 May 1991, on the eve of the visit of Pope John Paul II to Portugal for the 13 May ceremonies in Fátima.

One of the main themes of the Symposium was the Church and East Timor, with incisive critiques of the performance of the Vatican and its diplomacy in relation to East Timor.

The President of Portugal, Dr. Mário Soares presided over the Opening Session, in spite of his heavy agenda on this day.

Nearly 100 persons took part, including a delegation of the Parliament, once again presided by MP Sousa Lara, the President of the International Group "Parliamentarians for East Timor", Lord Avebury, and the Dutch MP Rob Van Gijzel, as well as a professor of the Sorbonne and two Indonesian political refugees residing in Europe.

During the Pope's visit to Portugal, many Timorese and many non-Timorese demonstrated to remind of the dramatic situation of East Timor.

NADAS DE TIMOR DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
STE, PORTUGAL E A COMUNIDADE INTERNACIONAL
de 9 a de Maio de 1991

The President Mário Soares speacking at the Opening Session. *(Cortesy of* Jornal de Notícias*).*

III JORNADAS NA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

MÁRIO SOARES DENUNCIOU GRAVE SILÊNCIO SOBRE TIMOR

«É grave que o mundo, apesar da luta dos timorenses pelo direito à autodeterminação, esteja indiferente, silencioso à sua volta» – denunciou Mário Soares que ontem, ao princípio da tarde, presidiu às III Jornadas de Timor na Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto.

O Presidente da República reconheceu que *«é isso* curso de improviso, Mário Soares admitiu que *«Portugal tem responsabilidades que não pode rejeitar como potência colonizadora e administrante»* , reconhecendo também que *«o processo de descolonização não foi feito da forma mais feliz»*, circunstância que foi habilmente aproveitada pela Indonésia.

Para Soares, a solução

S DE TIMOR DA UNIVERSIDA
ORTUGAL E A COMUNIDADE INT
de 9 a 11 de

artigo publicado no «Times» em que se compara *«a situação de Timor Leste à do Kuwait»*.

Mário Soares lançou uma palavra de exortação aos participantes nestas jornadas: *«Aqueles que lutam pelas causas justas não devem desistir porque mais tarde vem a vitória por efeito dos ventos da democracia que*

Timor-Leste no Porto

SOARES OUVIU MUITAS VOZES CONTRA SILÊNCIOS DO... VATICANO

Jornadas de Timor na Universidade do Porto

SILÊNCIO DO VATICANO É CÚMPLICE DA INDONÉSIA

— denuncia Barbedo Magalhães

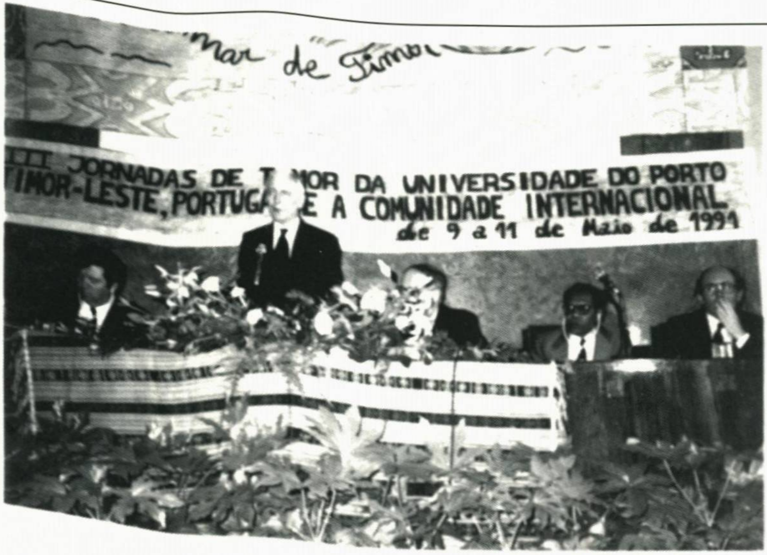
Ontem, véspera da chegada do Papa João Paulo II a Portugal, severas críticas foram dirigidas à Nunciatura do Vaticano — na sessão de abertura das 3.as Jornadas de Timor, a decorrerem no Porto —, acusada de «com o seu silêncio» **estar** «desde a primeira hora, a apoiar um regime opressor e sanguinário de uma potência agressora e ocupante (Indonésia)».

tem-no dado o Vaticano pelo seu silêncio».

«Com efeito, 15 anos de genocídio de todo um povo não mereceram ainda da Santa Sé uma palavra de denúncia pública clara e inequívoca, mas tão-somente algumas raras manifestações de preocupa-

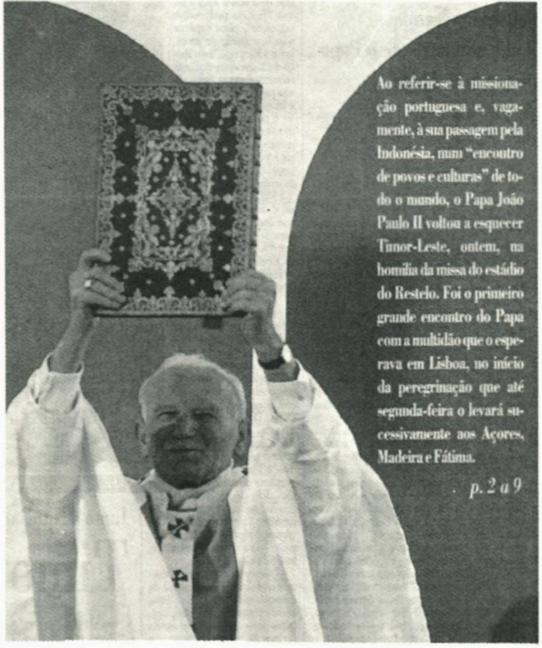
nos direitos do povo timorense, cujo sangue e sofrimento nos ferem tão profundamente a consciência».

Mário Soares, que se deslocou ao Porto **«expressa e exclusivamente»** para assistir a esta sessão de abertura, num discurso,


III JORNADAS DE TIMOR DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
TIMOR-LESTE, PORTUGAL E A COMUNIDADE INTERNACIONAL
de 9 a 11 de Maio de 1991

Homilia refere passagem de Portugal pela Indonésia

João Paulo II volta a esquecer Timor



Ao referir-se à missionação portuguesa e, vagamente, à sua passagem pela Indonésia, num "encontro de povos e culturas" de todo o mundo, o Papa João Paulo II voltou a esquecer Timor-Leste, ontem, na homilia da missa do estádio do Restelo. Foi o primeiro grande encontro do Papa com a multidão que o esperava em Lisboa, no início da peregrinação que até segunda-feira o levará sucessivamente aos Açores, Madeira e Fátima.

p. 2 a 9

TIMOR-LESTE IGUAL A KUWAIT

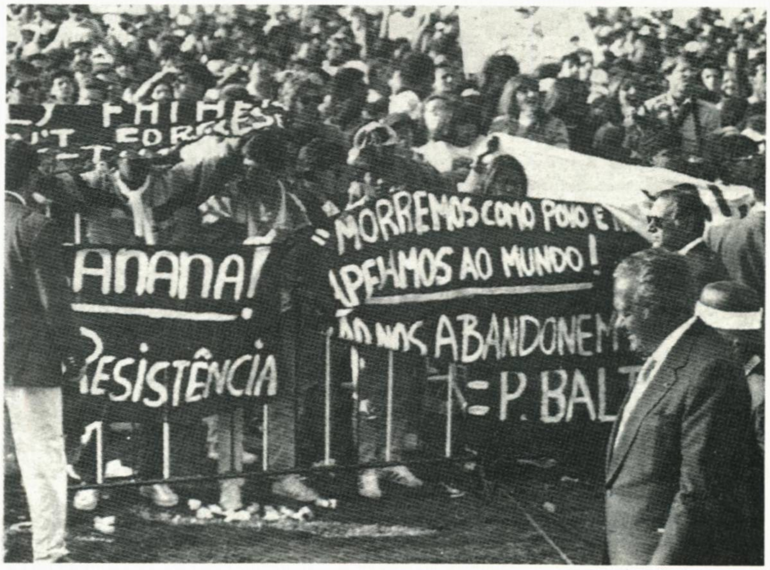
— reafirmou no Porto «Lord» Avebury

**«Lord» Avebury, um dos fun
do grupo internacional «Parlam
por Timor-Leste», defendeu, on
rante a sessão de encerramento
Jornadas de Timor da Universi
Porto, a ideia de criação de
Comissariado para a Autodet
ção, no quadro das Nações Uni**

«Lorde» Avebury, que durante o seu discurso traçou um paralelismo entre o caso de Timor e do Kuwait, considerando que «ambos são iguais», pois houve violação do artigo 2 das Nações Unidas, propôs que esse Alto Comissariado fosse progressivamente apoiad
vernos, desigr
português, qu
na sua opiniãc
mento muito
para o fazer:

presidência da
de Económica
no primeiro se
1992.

A avaliação
processos, el
pelo alto comiss
feita um comité
por 24 personal
meadas pelos


MORREMOS COMO POVO E
APELAMOS AO MUNDO!
ANANA!
RESISTÊNCIA
NÃO NOS ABANDONEM
P. BAL

The President of Portugal exposed the silence of the international community and Professor Barbedo de Magalhães criticised the Vatican, while Lord Avebury compared East Timor to Kuwait. A few days later, during the Pope's visit to Portugal, young demonstrators reminded John Paul II of the East Timor drama.

Warships monitor Dili peace journey

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY

DARWIN: East Timorese sources in Darwin said last night that the situation in Dili was "very tense" leading up to the arrival in Darwin of the Portuguese ship Lusitania Expresso.

The peace boat is due to leave Darwin today for Dili, carrying 120 students and journalists, who plan to lay wreaths at Santa Cruz Cemetery, site of the massacre of between 50 and,180 members of a funeral procession on November 12 last year. by the Indonesian military.

As Indonesia increased the size of its fleet off East Timor to nine warships and added a detachment of marines, a Defence Department spokesman in Darwin said the Australian military would keep a close eye on the ship.

The spokesman, who asked not to be named, suggested that the commanders of the warships in the combined Australian-US miliary exercise Kangaroo 92 would monitor events closely.

He said the allied forces "are very well aware of the [Lusitania Expresso] operation".

While not spelling it out, the spokesman indicated that the Australian and US forces would not stand idly by if the Indonesians became aggressive when the ship reached Indonesian territorial waters.

Darwin harbour ferries packed with well-wishers, motor boats and a wharfside crowd of 500 people greeted the Lusitania Expresso as it docked at Stokes Hill Wharf late yesterday afternoon.

The 44-day journey, however, was not without minor drama, according to the skipper, Captain Luys Dos Santos For the past two days, the boat has been buzzed by low-level flights of Indonesian military planes.

Mr Alfredo Ferreira, Australian representative of the Fretilin liberation movement, said that military activity in the East Timorese capital had been stepped up, with an extra battalion reinforcing the city, bringing troop levels up to 5,000 men.

His warnings came after a Catholic service attended by 180 East Timorese people in Darwin. The Mass called on God to protect the mission and guarantee its success.

The Lusitania Expresso peace ship.

"There are military patrols outside every house in Dili occupied by East Timorese. The army has the names of everyone in each house, and no-one can leave their house without a proper excuse. People have been told not to leave their houses once the ship leaves Darwin [for Timor]," said Mr Ferreira.

"It is necessary to get written permits to leave or enter Dili. My information says that the Indonesian Government and the soldiers are very nervous. People have been warned that they might be shot if they try anything."

Mr Ferreira said that naval activity off East Timor had been increased. As well as ships in the harbour, patrol boats were stationed at the islands of Alor and Kissar, to the west and east of Dili.

Mr Ferreira said that Bishop Belo, the leader of the Catholic Church in Dili, had called for the peace mission to be cancelled "in case it turned against the East Timorese people and they suffer the consequences".

However, Mr Ferreira said that the peace mission should continue as planned as he thought that the danger to the participants, and the people of Dili, had been overstated, despite Indonesian threats that the boat would be intercepted and its passengers arrested.

"I don't want to see anyone hurt. The only slight chance that it might happen is because the Indonesians are not prepared to meet such an open challenge," he said.

"The skipper of the Lusitania Expresso, Captain Luys Dos Santos, has said he will tell the Indonesians he is commanding a Portuguese ship and he's entering internationally recognised Portuguese territory. It is a peace boat. If there is any sign of danger, he will turn back to Darwin."

Mr Ferreira also accused the Australian and Northern Territory governments of being "submissive" and "only talking appeasement" to the Indonesian Government.

The Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, Mr Marshall Perron, was quoted yesterday as saying the peace mission was "provocative and unhelpful". He said he was worried that the Lusitania Expresso's stop in Darwin might be seen by Indonesian authorities as creating an impression that "the voyage is made with the co-operation of the Territory Government or the Territory community".

He said that "nothing could be further from the truth ... the relationship between Indonesia and the Northern Territory is highly valued by the Northern Territory Government".

However, Darwin waterside workers announced yesterday they would do "all in their power" to expedite the berthing, loading and unloading of the ship.

Asked what he would do if he was intercepted by Indonesian naval vessels, Captain Dos Santos said: "I will have to take that decision on the spot.

"My main concern will be with the people on board and the safety of the ship."

A big welcome ... for the Portuguese peace ship Lusitania Expresso in Darwin yesterday. Picture by THERESE RITCHIE

For Shirley, it's total commitment

Shirley Shackleton ... widow.

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY

DARWIN: Shirley Shackleton, whose husband, Greg, was one of the six Australian journalists killed during the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, said yesterday she was aware of the dangers of joinipg the East Timor peace mission, but "It's in for a penny, in for a pound – if you're committed to peace in East Timor, you're committed; it's the only way of honouring the daily sacrifices made by the East Timorese".

"It's not to do with my husband any more, although I know that's what he would have wanted," she said. "It'll be 17 years this year since he died, and I have dedicated my life to helping free East Timor since then.

"When I first heard of the peace mission, I thought 'Good idea, but I'm glad I'm not on it.' But now I am here, I'm happy to be joining the students on the boat. They're not just an amorphous bunch of students – a lot of them are postgraduate students, the best of the new generation that the countries participating can offer. And it is these students who are prepared to face danger to help people they have never met.

"But it's nothing to the daily dangers faced by the East Timorese. Every week I get news from friends there about people who have disappeared, or who have been killed or arrested. They are the people who are in constant danger, and nothing we could face would equal their sacrifices."

While honouring the peace mission, Ms Shackleton had little praise for the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, who has urged Australian members of the mission to "think carefully before participating".

Referring to Senator Evans's support of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and his warnings to the peace mission, Ms Shackleton called the Foreign Minister "a Pontius Pilate".

Greg Shackleton ... murdered.

Heading home, under escort

Picture: DAVID HANCOCK

Shadowed by an Indonesian warship, the Lusitania Expresso leaves Indonesian waters after being turned back early yesterday. Protesters on board the Lusitania Expresso had hoped to place wreaths at the Dili cemetery that was the scene of last November's massacre. PAGE 3: Report.

Shirley Shackleton, widow of one the six journalists murdered by the Indonesian forces in 1975 to prevent the world from knowing what was heppening in East Timor, participated in the Peace Mission (above). José Amorim, one of the organisers of the demonstration of 12th Novembre 1991 (who had escaped from Indonesia a few days before) and the American journalist Alain Naïrn, presented their testimonies on the Santa Cruz Massacre (next page).

7

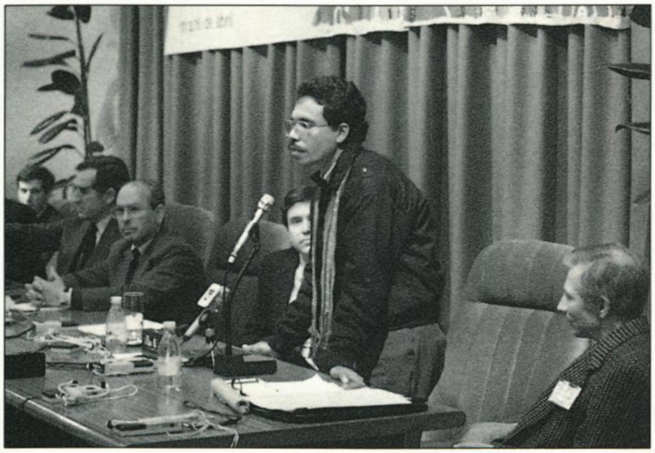
IV SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OU
– APRIL 92 –
AND THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

The IV Symposium was, once again, different from the preceding ones. It took on almost a residential character in the Seminary of Valadares, except for the Opening and Closing Sessions, which were open to the public and took place in the Amphitheater of the President's Office of Oporto University.

Many of the nearly 100 participants were young people, and the dominant theme was:

"East Timor: Preparing the Future"

The elaboration of internal television and radio programs, as well as a "newsletter" of the Symposium, were carried out as tasks with pedagogical functions. Worthy of note was the testimony of a young Timorese who had just arrived from the territory after escaping the Santa Cruz Massacre — José Amorim Dias — and the participation of many Timorese in the preparation and carriyng out of this Symposium.



The Santa Cruz Massacre, carried out by the Indonesian occupying forces in the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991 (and later in Dili Hospital and other places) was a central theme of concern, protest and debate. The deaths of more than 500 Timorese, most of whom were participating in a peaceful pilgrimage to the grave of a young Timorese assassinated by the forces serving Jakarta, was denounced with bitterness and revolt. The terrible genocide provoked by the Indonesian occupiers, who persist in leaving behing a wake of terror, inhumanity and bloodshed, after killing a third of the territory's population (nearly 250,000 dead of a population which in 1975 was of 700,000), was once again denounced.

In the sessions, which took place between 11 and 16 April 1992, several journalists who had witnessed the Santa Cruz Massacre took part, namely the American journalist Allan Nairn who, after attempting to stop the massacre, was beaten and wounded by Indonesian soliders, and the Dutch journalist Saskia Kowenberg.

Many participants in the Peace Mission in Timor (aboard the Lusitania Expresso), which had attempted to reach Dili to pay homage to the victims of Santa Cruz Massacre, took part in the sessions.

In sptite of being a peacefull mission, the Indonesian Navy has obstructed the way of the "Lusitânia Expresso" with three warships located at the entrance of Timorese waters. So, the 11 March 1992 its 127 participants, most of them young students of 22 countries of different continents, where forced to turn back.

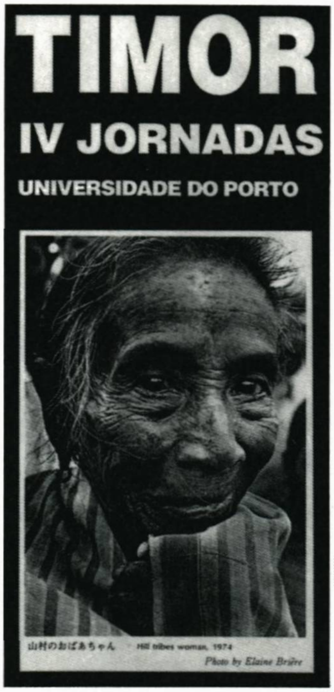
The leader of this Peace Mission, Dr. Rui Marques, and other participantes, including the ex-President of Portugal, General Ramalho Eanes, father José Lopes Baptista, the Coordinator of the Symposium and many students have intervened in the public sessions.

It has been stressed the wake up of the international community for the East Timor drama as a consequence of Santa Cruz Massacre, and also the outstanding place given to the Peace Mission by Indonesian and Australian media, as well as by the press of other countries in the region.

Several Portuguese MPs have participated (including the Portuguese member of the European Parliament, Rui Amaral, and the Dutch MP Dowe Eisma.

Im May 1992 Professor Benedict Anderson, of Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., USA, has been invited by Oporto University to adress conferences on Indonesia and East Timor in several places. This iniciative had the patronage of the President of Portugal and was co-sponsored by the President of Oporto Section of the Catholic University, Professor Carvalho Guerra. One of those conferences, realised on 27 May 1992 in this university had the meaningfull tittle: — "The Importance of Liberating Indonesia from East Timor."

TIMOR
IV JORNADAS
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
田んぼの近くで
Next to the rice fields, 1974
Photo by Elaine Brière



8

V SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OU – JULY 1993 – FROM THE ARREST OF DE MAXIMUM LEADER OF THE MAUBERE RESISTANCE, XANANA GUSMÃO, TO COOPERATION WITH INDONESIAN DEMOCRATS

For the first time, the V Symposium on Timor of OU took place in the Lisbon area, with the Opening Session in Lisbon on 22 July 1993, and the remaining sessions from 23 to 29 July in the Centro Escolar, Turístico e Hoteleiro of Estoril.

The motto of this Symposium was:

"East Timor and Indonesia: Paths to Freedom, Self-Determination and Democracy"

The decision of organizing the V Symposium was taken immediately after the capture of the leader of the Timorese Resistance, Xanana Gusmão. This capture, as well as the way in which it was exploited initially by the Indonesian authorities, provoked great discouragement among many people and institutions. In order to overcome this discouragement and pessimism, it was decided to make the Symposium larger in scale, with many foreign participants, (46 foreign guests came to Portugal at the invitation of the organizing committee and, for the first time, for it to take place in Lisbon and surroundings.

In the meantime, on 14 December 1992 the President's Office of Oporto University organized a Press Conference in which the political significance of the arrest of the leader of the Timorese Resistance was explained. The Indonesian manouvres to weaken Portugal's position in the UN talks in course and even to lead the Portuguese government not to partipate in the following round of negotiations was also denounced. Fortunately, the Portuguese government was not impressed by Indonesian propaganda which claimed that the Maubere Resistance had been definitively quashed, and not only participated in the talks under the auspicies of the UN Secretary General as planned but also maintained a position of coherence and honesty, firmly sustaining the intransigent defense of the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor, in accordance with international law and the UN resolutions.

Besides including many foreign participants, this Symposium was innovative in other ways:

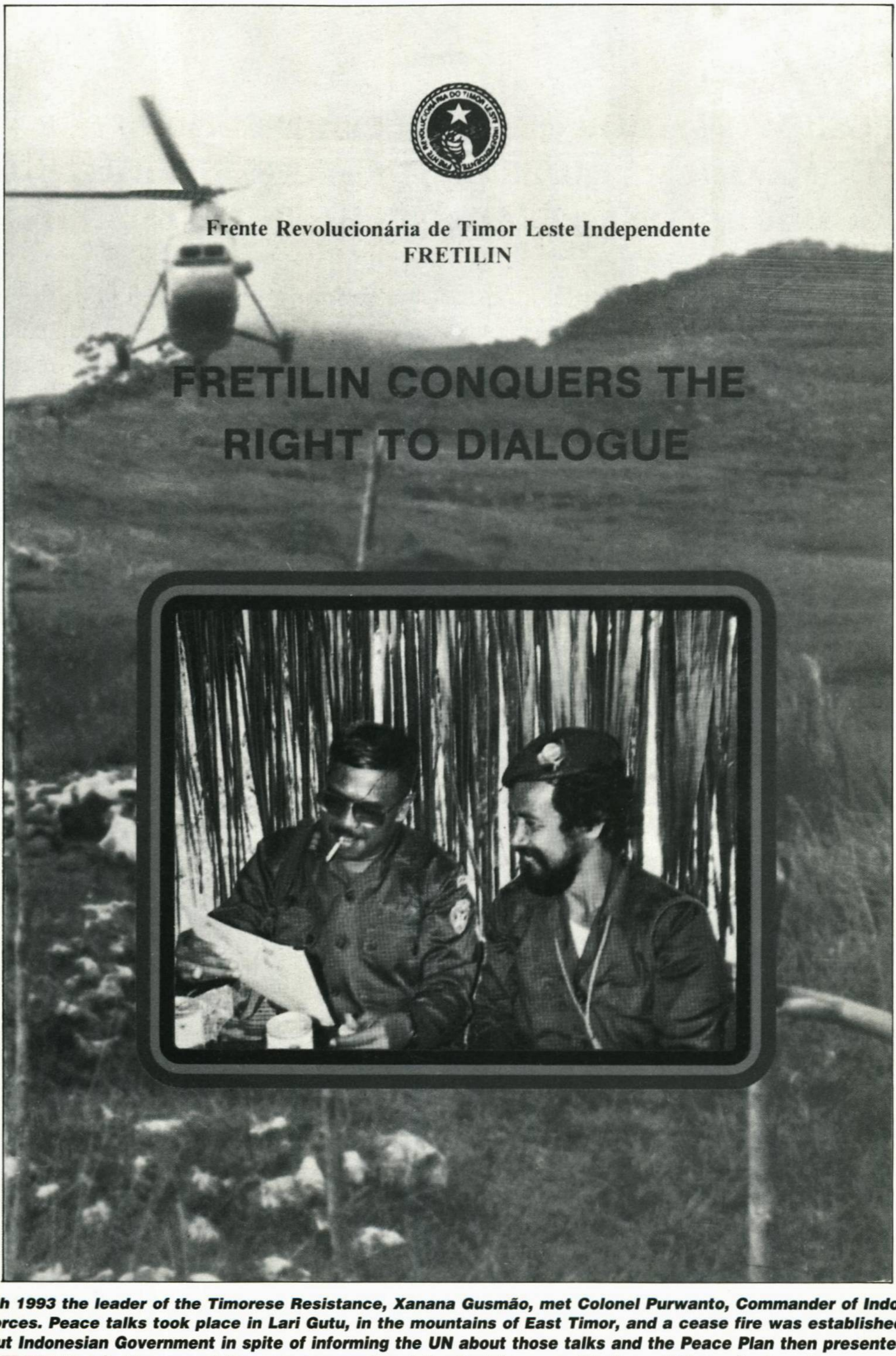
a) The emphasis given to the partipation of Indonesian citizens who are struggling for democracy in their country;

b) The simultaneous realization of a Summer Course on "Indonesia and East Timor" taught by some of the best specialists in the world on Indonesian affairs;

c) The change of venue to the Lisbon area;

d) The direct support of other Portuguese universities for this initiative.

Indeed, the orgnnizers emphasized the partipation of Indonesian citizens, not only those residing in Europe (7) but also in Indonesia itself (4). Although one of these did not speak in public and another used a pseudonym, their participation, involving many risks of all sorts, was extremely important. Some Timorese, understandably hesitant at first, soon realized that the dictorial regime which oppressed them in East Timor



Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente
FRETILIN

FRETILIN CONQUERS THE RIGHT TO DIALOGUE

In March 1993 the leader of the Timorese Resistance, Xanana Gusmão, met Colonel Purwanto, Commander of Indonesian Forces. Peace talks took place in Lari Gutu, in the mountains of East Timor, and a cease fire was established. But Indonesian Government in spite of informing the UN about those talks and the Peace Plan then presented by FRETILIN, tried to present them as a surrender of the Resistance and in August 93 war broke out once more.

Some of the eleven Indonesian participants were photographied together with academics coming from the USA, Japan and Germany.

The organizers of the Manila Conference, Augusto Miclat, Jr. (left), and Renato Constantino, Jr. (right) with two Timorese leaders, Mari Alkatiri and Roque Rodrigues and a Portuguese participant (in the middle).

was the same one which oppressed many Indonesians in their own country. A current of understanding and solidarity was thus created among all.

Indonesian participants took with them a copy of the book "East Timor, Indonesian occupation and Genocide", translated in Bahasa Idonesian, in its 3^{d} edition, circulating clandestinely in their country.

After participating in the V Symposium on Timor of OU, Prof. George Aditjondro, of Salatiga University in Indonesia, gave several lectures and wrote articles and even a book severely criticizing the occupation of East Timor by the dictatorial regime and by the Armed Forces of his country.

These initiatives caused him to receive death threats and threats that he would lose his post as Professor in the University; his house was stoned, and so forth. None of this prevented him from participating, in 1994, in the VI Symposium on Timor of OU.

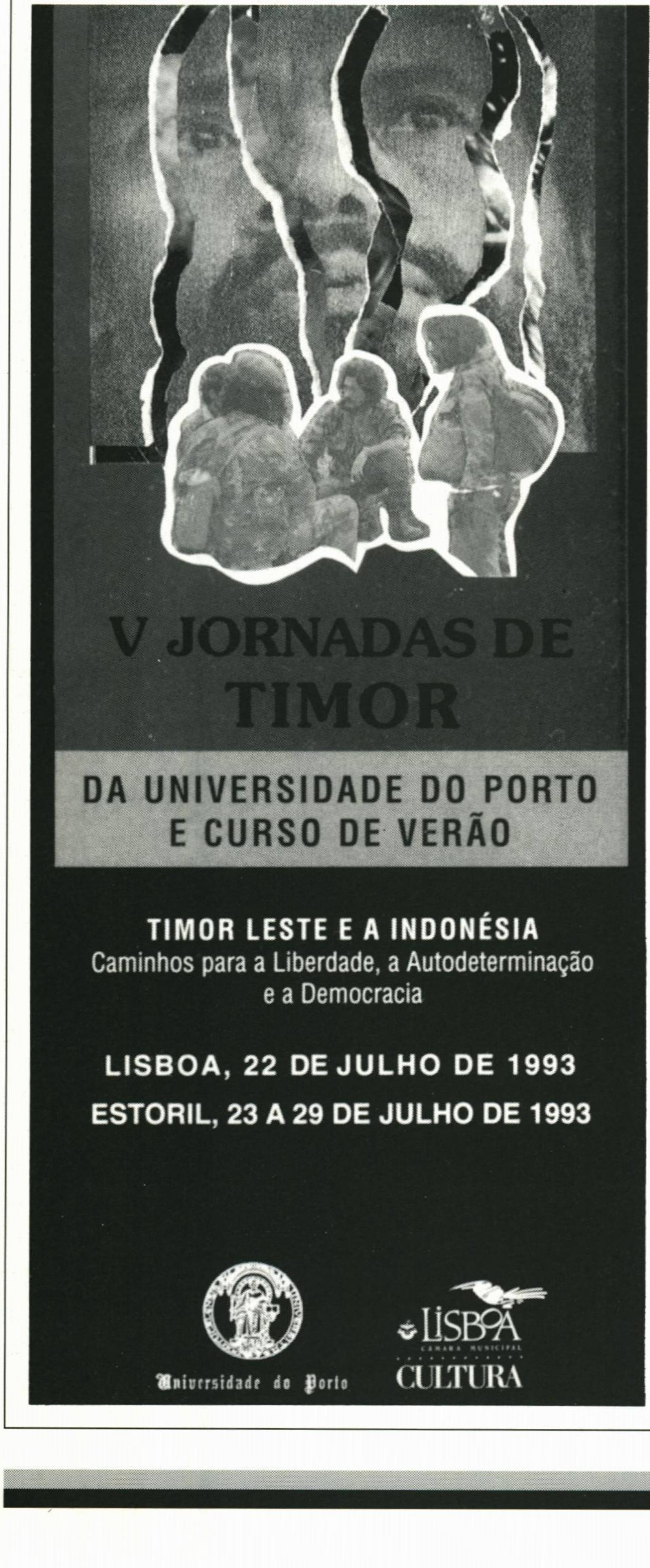
The theme of the V Symposium was *"East Timor and Indonesia: Paths to Freedom, Self-Determination and Democracy."*

In it were discussed, in parallel sessions in six different rooms, nearly 75 papers on diverse themes.

For the first time other universities (the University of Coimbra and the Catholic University) joined, through their Presidents, this initiative.

This Symposium included three thematic sessions:

a) One with distinguished members of the Catholic Church, namely the Secretary of the Portuguese Conference of Bishops, Mons. Januário Torgal Ferreira, Bishop



V JORNADAS DE TIMOR

DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
E CURSO DE VERÃO

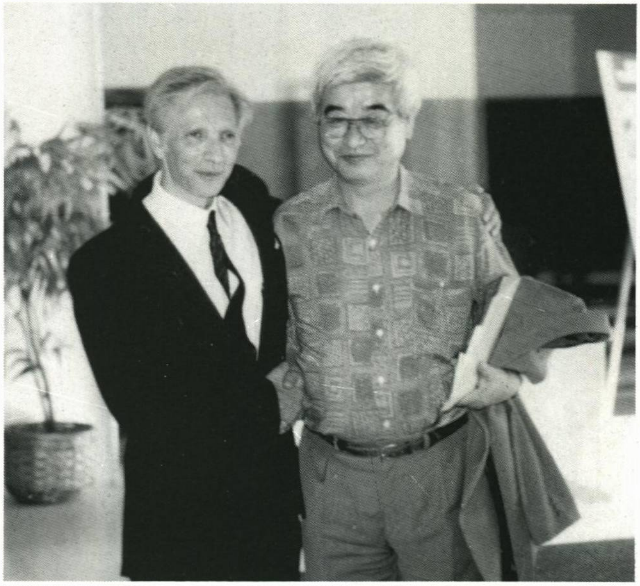
TIMOR LESTE E A INDONÉSIA
Caminhos para a Liberdade, a Autodeterminação
e a Democracia

LISBOA, 22 DE JULHO DE 1993

ESTORIL, 23 A 29 DE JULHO DE 1993

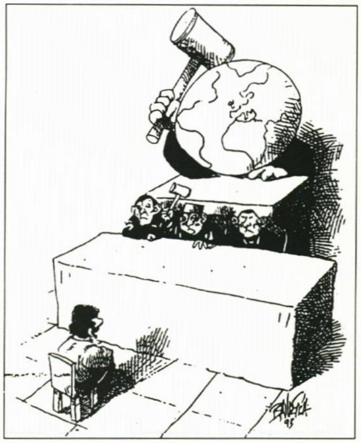
Universidade do Porto

LISBOA
CÂMARA MUNICIPAL
CULTURA



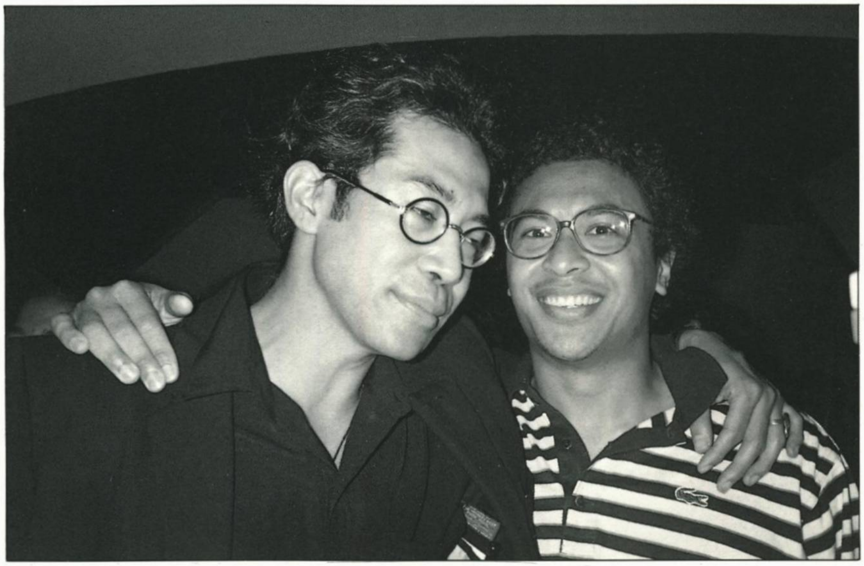
Professor Masao Yamagushi, from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan, with Professor Barbedo de Magalhães, in the Fifth Symposium on Timor of OU.

THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE SINCE THE CAPTURE OF XANANA GUSMAO



By Herb Feith

East Timor Talks Campaign
December 1993



Two participants in the V th Symposium, an Indonisien and a Timorese — their friendship is a symbol of the solidarity of the youth in the two countries that will led to freedom in Indonesia and self-determination in East Timor.

Fernando da Luz Soares of the Lusitanian Church (Anglican Communion) and the President of the General Assembly of the Islamic Community of Lisbon, Dr. Suleiman Valy Mamede;

b) Another with members of the European Parliament and members of the Portuguese Parliament;

c) A third with University Presidents and professores, in which Prof. Alberto Amaral, President of Oporto University, Prof. Rui Alarcão, President of Coimbra University, and Dr. Silva Mota, Secretary of the Portuguese Catholic Univeristy, representing the President (Mons. José Policarpo) partipated.

Along with the Symposium, there was a First Course on Indonesia and East Timor, taught by some of the greatest world specialists in Indonesian affairs, namely Professor Benedict Anderson (Cornell University, USA), Prof. Daniel Lev (University of Washington) and Professor Roger Clark (Rutgers Law School, USA), and professors from Indonesia, Germany, France, Portugal, Brazil and Japan.

Emphasis should be given to the participation, for the first time, of members of the Government: the Secretary of State for Youth, Dr. Maria do Céu Ramos and the Sub-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Martins Jerónimo, Also worthy of note is the support lent by the City Government of Lisbon and other towns in the region to this initiative.

Finally, the participation of two of the main organizers of the Manila Conference on East Timor should be pointed out. This conference would take place in May-June 1994. Curiously the report of the conference, to which we shall refer in point 10, informs us that *"final dates for APCET were to be agreed upon by the principals during a symposium in Portugal."* The Symposium in wich the final date of APCET was set was the Fifth Symposium on Timor of Oporto University, which served as a meeting point for the main mentors of this initiative: the Resistance leader José Ramos Horta and the Philippino activists Renato Constantino Jr., and Augusto Miclat Jr., among others.

RNADAS DE TI UNIVERSIDADE
TIMOR LESTE E A INDONÉSIA

*O sentimento de que o povo maubere resistirá à ocupação indonésia prevaleceu ontem na abertura das V Jornadas de Timor (Foto: **Jorge Godinho**)*

Espírito de esperança domina jornadas sobre Timor

'Neon ida diet, Laren ida diet'

As palavras e os desenhos da "t-shirt" que vestia traduziam esperança. "Xanana, the hope of Timor", ou em português "Xanana, a esperança de Timor" é tudo quanto Donaciano Gomes, timorense de 25 anos, sente em relação à sua terra e ao seu povo, há 18 anos à mercê do invasor indonésio.

Donaciano estuda em Portugal há cerca de três anos. Na pátria era líder da juventude maubere e foi um dos organizadores da manifestação, em 1989, aquando da visita do Papa a Timor. Foi preso e torturado pelos militares de Shuarto e por

que mandaram

Tanto Donac
UDT, FRETILIN
tência Maubere
estão confiante
pela auto-dete
vitória dos oprir
do de Magalhã
çou uma pala
Xanana Gusm
bém perpétua
Na língua mau

Max Stahl, the author of the film "Death of a Nation" on the Santa Cruz Massacre, was one of the participants: this film did more for the East Timor Cause than many diplomatic initiatives, and became one of the reasons for hope.

V JORNADAS DE TIMOR NA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
TIMOR LESTE E A INDONESIA
Caminhos para a Liberdade, a Autodeterminação e a Democracia

Opositor a Suharto participa nas V Jornadas de Timor da Universidade do Porto

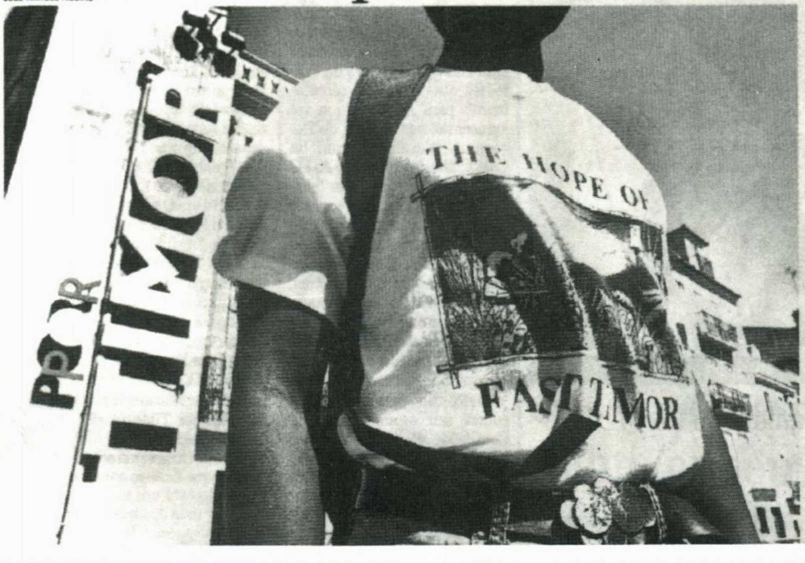
Indonésia tem de "aprender a democracia"

São José Almeida

Analisa o "cruel" e "fascista" regime indonésio com fria intransigência, mas aquece ao ouvir falar de melhorias na área dos direitos humanos: "Os meus amigos continuam a ser torturados!" Não acredita que o actual poder venha a dar a democracia, que liga à independência de Timor. E vê Xanana como um guia.

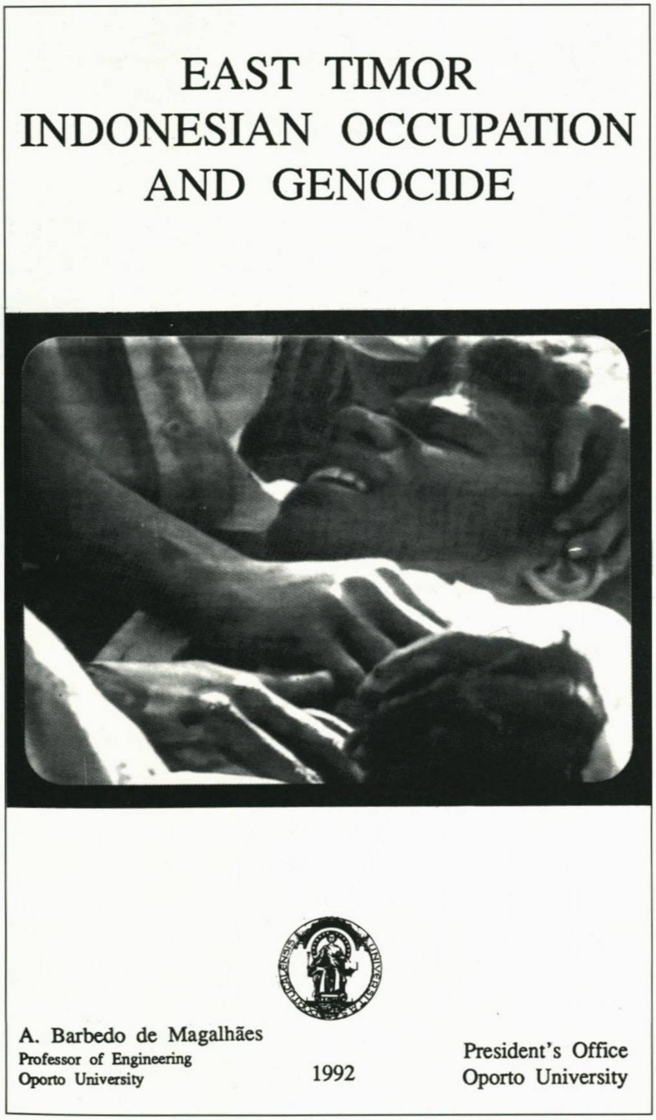
"Temos de apren-

JOSÉ MANUEL RIBEIRO



sumindo laços entre o seu movimento e os independentistas timorenses.

Para este opositor indonésio que em Lisboa utiliza o nome falso de Budy, "se o povo maubere não tiver independência dificilmente saberá resolver os seus verdadeiros problemas sociais e económicos. Se forem independentes ganham espírito e passam a outro estádio, darão os seus passos como verdadeira nação". E defende a realização de "um referendo para saber do desejo de autodeterminação". Quanto a eleições livres diz que não são possíveis na Indonésia de hoje, por isso o seu movimento não tenta sequer concorrer. "Só se nos deixassem, nos sítios onde ganhássemos, dar a independência, por exemplo, em Sumatra, no Aceh, em Ti-



EAST TIMOR
INDONESIAN OCCUPATION
AND GENOCIDE

A. Barbedo de Magalhães
Professor of Engineering
Oporto University

1992

President's Office
Oporto University

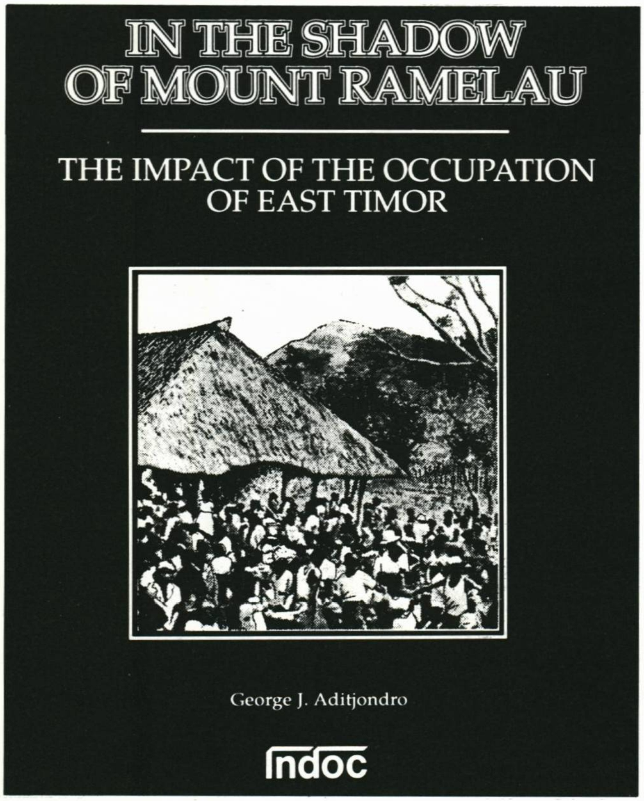
A. Berbedo de Magalhaels

TIMOR-TIMUR :
PENDUDUKAN INDONESIA
DAN
PEMBANTAIAN TERENCANA

tapol

Indonesian democrats have translated into Bahasa Indonesia the book on Indonesian occupation and genocide published by OU. A copy of this book, already in its third clandestine edition, was shown in the Symposium by one of the Indonesian participants who also stated that Indonesia must "learn democracy", as the press underlined (left page).

President Mário Soares showing a painting of Xanana Gusmão he had received a few days before. Also in the photo are Bishop Hilton Deakin from Melbourne, Australia (left), Professor George Winius from Brown University, USA (right) and Professor Barbedo de Magalhães, from OU (extreme right).



IN THE SHADOW
OF MOUNT RAMELAU

THE IMPACT OF THE OCCUPATION
OF EAST TIMOR

George J. Aditjondro

Indoc

The book of George Aditjondro, of Kristen Satya Wacana University of Salatiga, Indonesia.

9

THE CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR AND PORTUGUESE EXPANSION
– 16 MARCH 1994 –
AND THE ROLE OF THE TIMORESE CHURCH

In order to commemorate the Sixth Century of the birth of Prince Henry the Navigator in Oporto, Oporto City Hall decided to organized together with Oporto University, a conference on the topic *"East Timor and Portuguese expansion."*

Taking into account the importance of the Church in the Expansion, and the role of the Christian religion in East Timor today, one of the foreign guests was the Auxiliary Bishop of the Melbourne diocesis in Australia, Mons. Hilton Deakin, one of the few non-Indonesian bishops who have visited Timor in the last twenty years. Professor George Winius of Brown University in Providence, RI, USA, who is a renowned specialist in History of the Portuguese Expansion, was also invited.

After being received by the President of Portugal, Dr. Mario Soares, and by the Foreign Affairs Minister Dr. Durão Barroso, they also participated in a meeting of the European Law Students Association organized by the Portucalense University (Oporto) and in other public sessions and work meetings.

Mons. Hilton Deakin, who had visited East Timor some time before, brought back the image of a people without a voice, terribly oppressed but courageous and determined, like its Bishop Ximenes Belo. He, in spite of death threats and two assassination attempts (on the part of individuals contracted by the occupiers) from which he escaped, has continued to defend human rights and the right to a referendum on self-determination of the people of East Timor. His courageous attitudes, and the request he made on 6 February 1989, to the UN Secretary General proposing the realization of a referendum on self-determination so that the people might freely chose its future, constrast with the silences and connivences of Vatican diplomacy.

The meetings that Mons. Hilton Deakin had with the President and the Secretary of the Portuguese Council of Bishops (Catholic), as well as with the President of the Portuguese Catholic University (also a Bishop, Mons. José Policarpo) and with the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon himself, were very enlightening and allowed a strengthening of links between the Catholic churches of Australia and Portugal, and of both with the Catholic Church of East Timor. It should be noted that the number of Catholics in Timor went from 30% in 1974 to more than 80%, as a reaction to the occupation by forces of a predominantly Muslim country, Indonesia. Catholicism has, as well, become a very important component of Timorese nationalism and of the Maubere Resistance to Indonesian occupation.

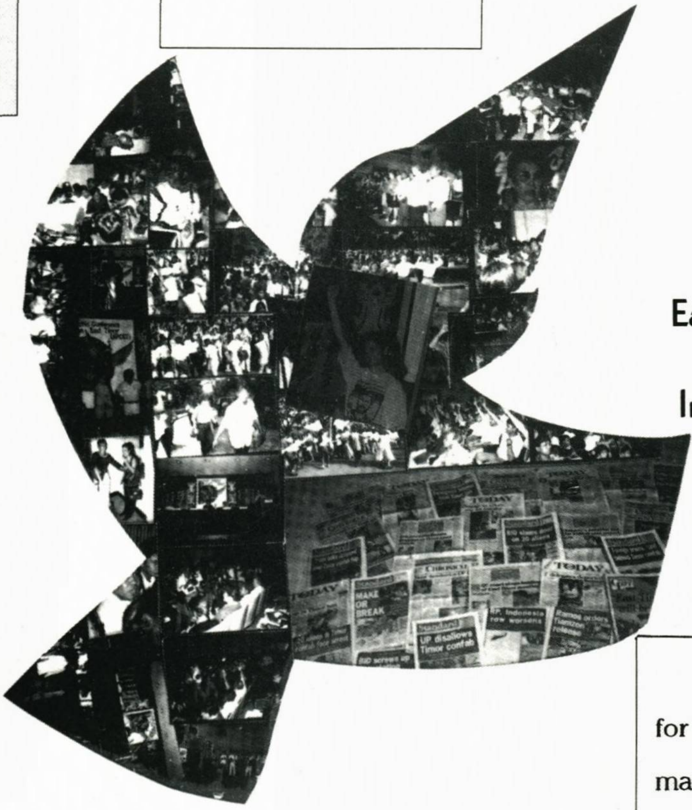
"Indonesia must learn that honorable relations among states and people are governed by respect for human rights and the world conventions and charters that encase them."

- Madamme Mitterand

"No demonstration that I know of had ever been held in East Timor that had not been attacked brutally."

East Timor: History, Testimonies and Perspectives

Max Stahl



Keynote Speech 2

The Right to Self-Determination is the most Important Human Right

(Ret.) Chief Justice Marcelo B. Fernan

East Timor's Struggle is also Indonesia's Struggle

Rachland Nashidik

"There is no excuse for the violation of human rights, for the domination of the weak by the strong, for imperialism and oppression."

- Senator Tañada

Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET)
Report and Proceedings
May 31 - June 5, 1994
University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines

10

THE ASIA/PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR (APCET), WHICH TOOK PLACE IN MANILA – FROM 31 MAY TO 4 JUNE 1994

Oporto University, through its President's Office and the Organizing Committe of the Symposia on Timor, was one of the entities who convened the Manila Conference on East Timor (APCET). In this way, OU formally supported for the first time an iniative related to East Timor abroad.

Taking this into account, the President and the Coordinator of the Symposia on Timor of Oporto University sent Dr. Susan Castillo to Manila, Philippines, as their representative.

In order to prevent discussion, in the region, of the East Timor drama, the Indonesian regime placed tremendous political and economic pressure on the Philippino government to force it to outlaw the Conference. Only the enormous courage of the organizers, who received death threats, and that of some foreign guests, who remained tensely determined to carry out the conference even when a local court banned it (illegitimately, as another higher court ruled shortly thereafter), made it possible.

The pressures of Jakarta forced many Indonesian citizens to give up the idea of participating in APCET and led the Philippino government to refuse entry into the country to several foreign participants, who were detained in Manila airport and forced to return to their country of origin.

This is what happened to the representative of Oporto University, Dr. Susan Castillo, to Dr. Azeredo Lopes of the Catholic University (Oporto), to the Timorese José Amorim and to other personalities who traveled to Manila but were not allowed to enter the country and were forced to return to their point of departure.

This did not prevent the message of the coordinator of the Symposia on Timor of OU, borne by Dr. Susan Castillo, from being read at the conference.

Contrary to what the Indonesian regime would have wished, its clumsy attempts to prevent the Manila Conference on East Timor from taking place at any cost only caused it more problems on the international scene. The major international television news networks, such as CNN, Sky News and others, had never given so much space to the problem of East timor as they did in May and June 1994, due to Indonesian pressures for the meeting not to take place.

Many people were blacklisted and forbidden from entering. Some were Timorese leaders, such as:

Jose Ramos Horta, main representative abroad of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance;

Jose Luis Guterres, Chief of the FRETILIN delegation abroad;

João Carrascalão, President of UDT;

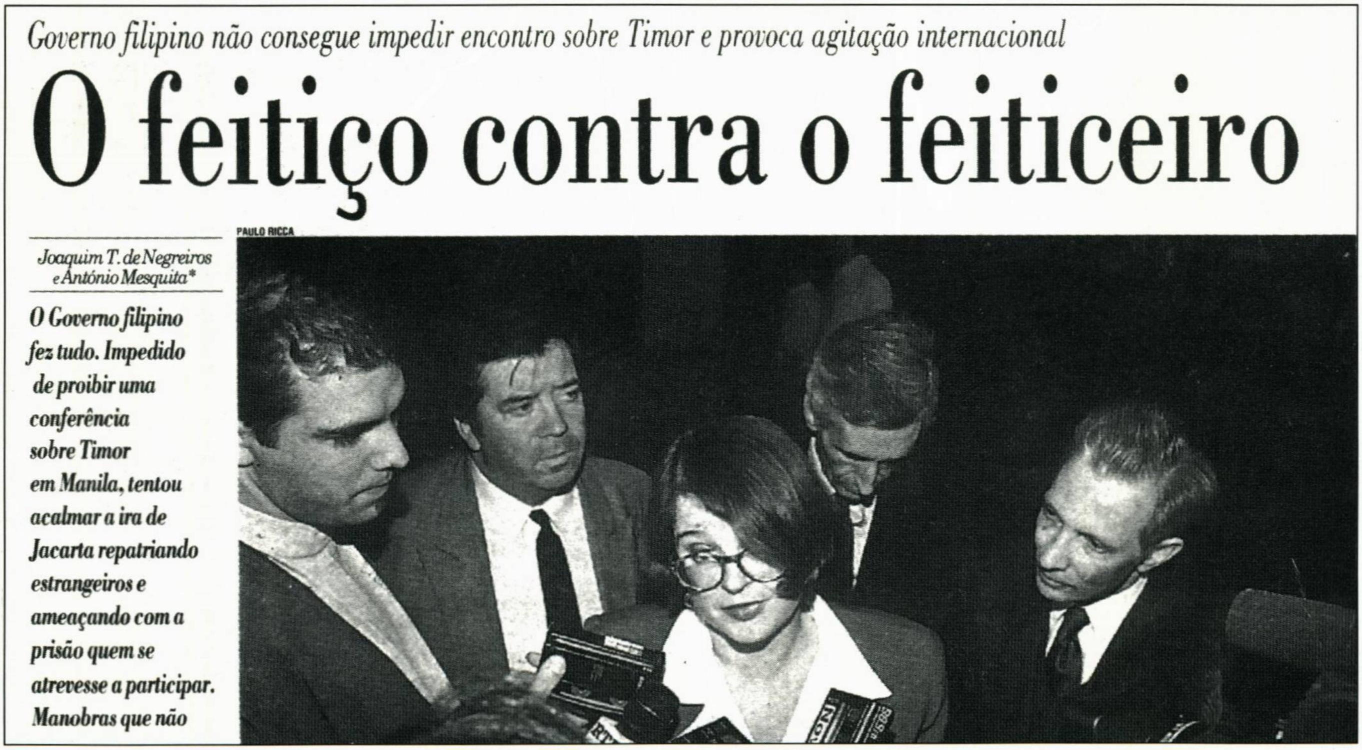
Mari Alkatiri, Secretary of FRETILIN for International Relations;

Zacarias da Costa, Vice President of UDT;

Others were members of solidarity organizations, such as:

Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, editors of the Tapol Bulletin, that campaigns for the Indonesian political prisioners and the human rights of the Timorese;

But even the Nobel Peace Prize, Mairead Maguire and the First Lady of France, Mme Danielle Miterrand, were prohibited from entering the Philippines.



Governo filipino não consegue impedir encontro sobre Timor e provoca agitação internacional

O feitiço contra o feiticeiro

*Joaquim T. de Negreiros e António Mesquita**

O Governo filipino fez tudo. Impedido de proibir uma conferência sobre Timor em Manila, tentou acalmar a ira de Jacarta repatriando estrangeiros e ameaçando com a prisão quem se atrevesse a participar. Manobras que não

PAULO RICCA

The pressure put by Indonesians on the Philippino Government in order to prevent the Conference of Manila from taking place, backfired against the Indonesian Government.
Susan Castillo giving her testimony to the press upon her arrival in Portugal after being deported from the Philippines.

Cardinal Sin's Letter

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila
121 Arzobispo Street, Intramuros
P. O. Box 132
Manila, Philippines

30 Manila 1994

His Excellency
Most Rev. CARLOS FELIPE XIMENES BELO, D.D.
Apostolic Administrator
Diocese of Dili
Uskupan Lecidere (BIDAU)
K.P. 250
Dili 38000

Your Excellency:

I am writing to you as a brother in the faith and in the episcopal service. I know how much your people have suffered all these years on account of the illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor. I know that this has resulted in abominable human rights violation inflicted upon your flock. Our faith tells us that it is Christ who suffers everytime human rights are trampled upon. It is Christ who suffers everytime freedom is shamelessly usurped.

I am sorely disappointed with the decision of the Philippine government to deport Nobel Prize winner Mairead Maguire and all those who wanted to attend a conference in Manila on East Timor. I am sorry to see the political leaders of my own nation giving in to the pressure of a foreign nation. The decision to stop the conference is nothing less than foolish.

Devotedly in Christ,

+ Jaime Card. Sin

+ JAIME L. CARDINAL SIN
Archbishop of Manila

Messages from Two Nobel Peace Prize Awardees

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Through this letter, I would like to convey my best wishes to you.

I would like to appeal to the UN Security Council to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor so that the aspiration for independence of its people could be realized.

Inspite of human rights violations, the voice of those who are opposed to the Indonesian invasion could not be silenced. On the contrary, it has even strengthened the people's determination to fight for their legitimate demand for sovereignty. I therefore, support the East Timorese in their quest for a solution to Indonesia's authoritarian rule.

I, then, congratulate the organizers of the Conference and I am completely sure that it will greatly contribute towards finding a solution to the East Timorese problem for self-determination.

In Solidarity,

(Sgd.) Rigoberta Menchu
Nobel Peace Prize Winner

Justice will come to East Timor

Mairead Maguire

IT IS a great pleasure to have the opportunity to address this group of individuals who devote their time and effort to promoting the human rights of the oppressed people of East Timor.

I find it hard to comprehend the magnitude of the injustice the people of this land have suffered over the last eighteen years of repression. Never in the history of the world has any military campaign perpetrated quite so effective an act of genocide, never before has at least one-third of an entire population been wiped out by the invading forces of another country, never before has the level of barbarism sunk to these depths.

A stirring speech by Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma of the Japanese Catholic Council for Justice and Peace closed the four-day conference. Bishop Soma ended his speech by declaring his pledge of solidarity "to the brothers and sisters in East Timor and to each and every East Timorese in exile devoting oneself to the struggle of their people. Your goal is a goal which we too share with all our heart."

The conference was officially closed by an address by the APCET Chairman, Mr. Renato Constantino, Jr., so aptly titled, "WE WON THE BATTLE; IT'S TIME TO WIN THE WAR."

11

THE ISERLOHN CONFERENCE
– 30 SEPTEMBRE TO 2 OCTOBER 1994 –
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

Aware of the immense economical and political clout of Germany within the European Union and of its excellent relations with Indonesia (includin the sale in 1994 of 39 warships of the former DDR) and also of the relatively small projection of the solidarity movement with the cause of East Timor in this great country, the Coordinator of the Symposia along with the Secretary of the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, Dr. Pedro Pinto Leite, attempted to find means of promoting an initiative that might alert a small part of public opinion in this country to the Timorese drama.

Having encountered great receptivity not only among some German citizens who had participated in the Peace Mission in Timor (Lusitania Express) or in the Fifth Symposium on Timor of OU but also in two German organizations, it was determined that the initiative would be promoted by a group consisting of:

Peter Frank, Southeast Asia Information Center, Bochum, Germany

Dr. Rudiger Sereika, Evangelische Akademie, Iserlohn, Germany

Pedro Pinto Leite, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, Leiden, Holland, and

Prof. A. Barbedo de Magalhães, Oporto University, Portugal

The International Conference took place in the Protestant Academy of Iserlohn. The theme was:

"The European Responsibility for East Timor — A Concerted Approach towards the remnants of colonialism"

Representatives of the Indonesian and Portuguese governments and of European countries were invited to participate in this conference, but only the Ambassador of Portugal to Germany, Dr. Pinto da França, an authority on Indonesia, participated.

Although the organizers feared that less than thirty persons would take part in this initiative, more than one hundred participants attended, including journalists.

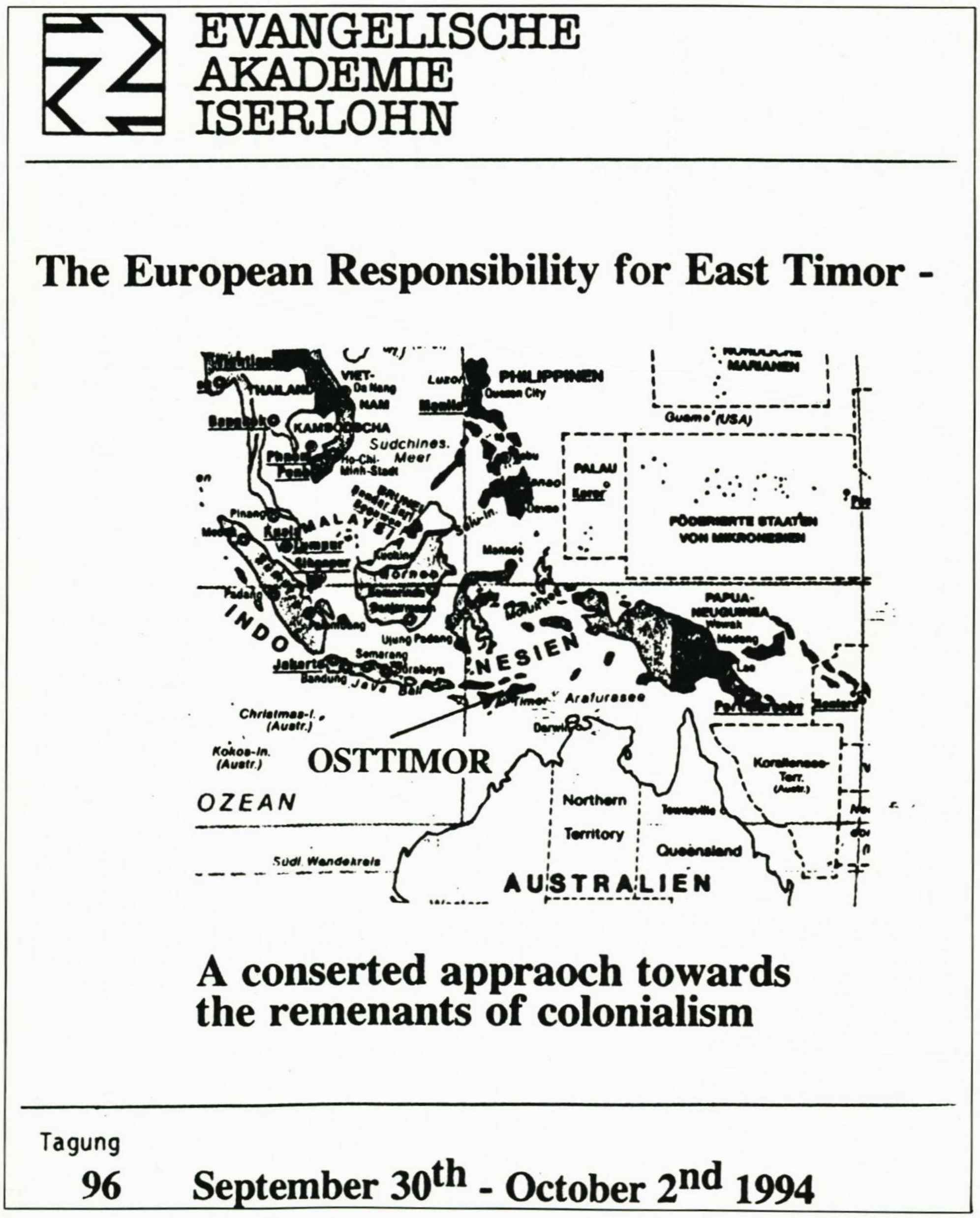
A signficant number of foreign guests who in the following days would participate in the opening sessions of the Sixth Symposium on Timor of Oporto University, from Indonesia, Australia, and other faraway countries, took advantage of the trip to Europe to participate in the Iserlohn Conference as well.

During the preparations for this conference, a new solidarity group with East Timor was created in Germany.

At the end of the Conference, it had become clear that the German solidarity movement was far more lively and active than had seemed to be the case.

Nearly half a year later, when in April 1995 President Suharto traveled to Germany as the guest of honor at the Hanover International Fair, the street demonstrations and the protests against the violations of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor led him to express a degree of irritation which had never before been observed in public. Speaking in his Javanese mother tongue (and not in Bahasa Indonesian), General Suharto fumed:

"We shall take measures against the national traitors. They are crazy, they are mad, they are irrational..."


EVANGELISCHE
AKADEMIE
ISERLOHN

The European Responsibility for East Timor -

VIET-NAM
Da Nang
Luzon
PHILIPPINEN
Quezon City
Manila
MARIANEN
Guam (USA)
THAILAND
Bangkok
KAMBODSCHA
Phnom Penh
Südchines. Meer
Ho-Chi-Minh-Stadt
PALAU
Koror
FÖDERIERTE STAATEN VON MIKRONESIEN
Pinang
Medan
Kuala Lumpur
Singapur
MALAYSIA
Brunei
Borneo
Manado
Davao
Padang
INDONESIEN
Ujung Padang
Semarang
Jakarta
Bandung
Surabaya
Java
Bali
Timor
Arafurasee
PAPUA-NEUGUINEA
Wewak
Madang
Lae
Port Moresby
Christmas-I. (Austr.)
Kokos-In. (Austr.)
OSTTIMOR
Darwin
OZEAN
Northern Territory
Townsville
Queensland
Korallensee-Terr. (Austr.)
Südl. Wendekreis
AUSTRALIEN

A conserted appraoch towards the remenants of colonialism

Tagung
96 **September 30th - October 2nd 1994**

12

VI SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OF OU – 4 OCTOBER 1994 TO 26 MARCH 1995 – PORTUGUESE UNIVERSITIES TAKE ON A GROWING COMMITMENT AND PROPOSE A GRATER DEGREE OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

The Sixth Symposium on Timor of Oporto University, on the theme:

"East Timor: An International Responsibility"

was, once again, very different from the preceding ones.

On the one hand, it lasted much longer.

On the other, it attempted to take foreign guests to participate in numerous public sessions and working meetings with diverse organizations in several cities throughout the country.

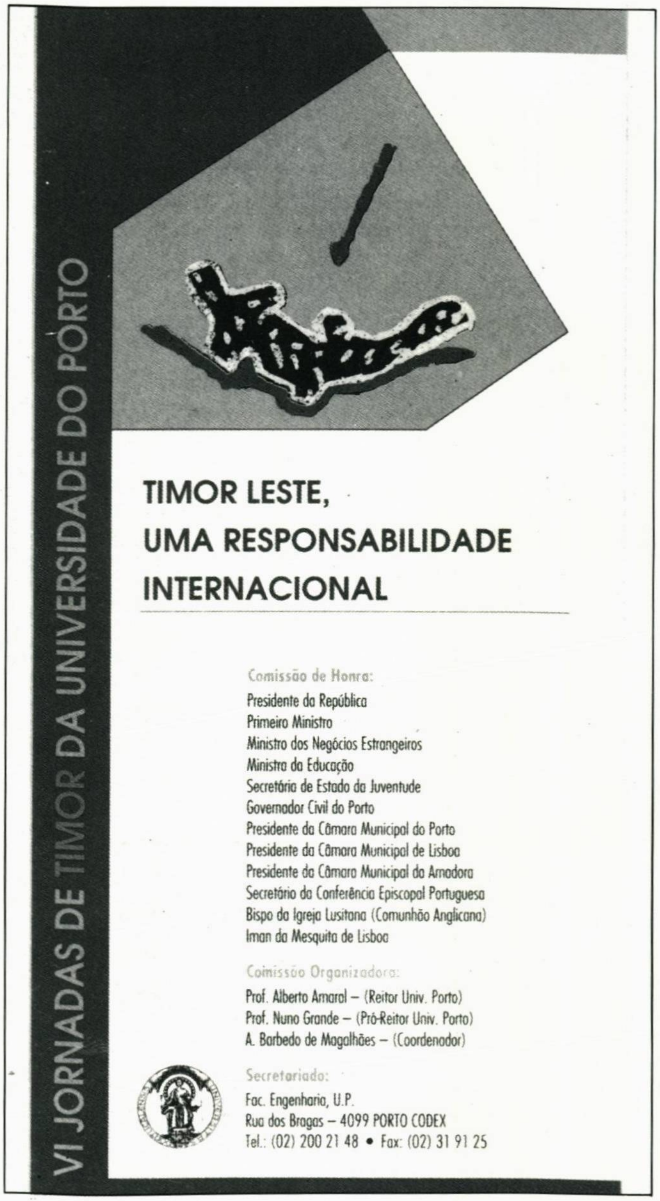
In addition, it was associated to a Second Introductory Course on Indonesia and East Timor, lasting five months.

Finally, it attempted to open the door to sessions on East Timor in foreign universities.

We can point out, in this Symposium, three different phases:

First phase: 4-14 October 1994 — Opening and International Sessions.

Second phase: 24 October 1994-11 March 1955 — National segment of the Second Introductory Course on Indonesia and East Timor and of the Sixth Symposium.



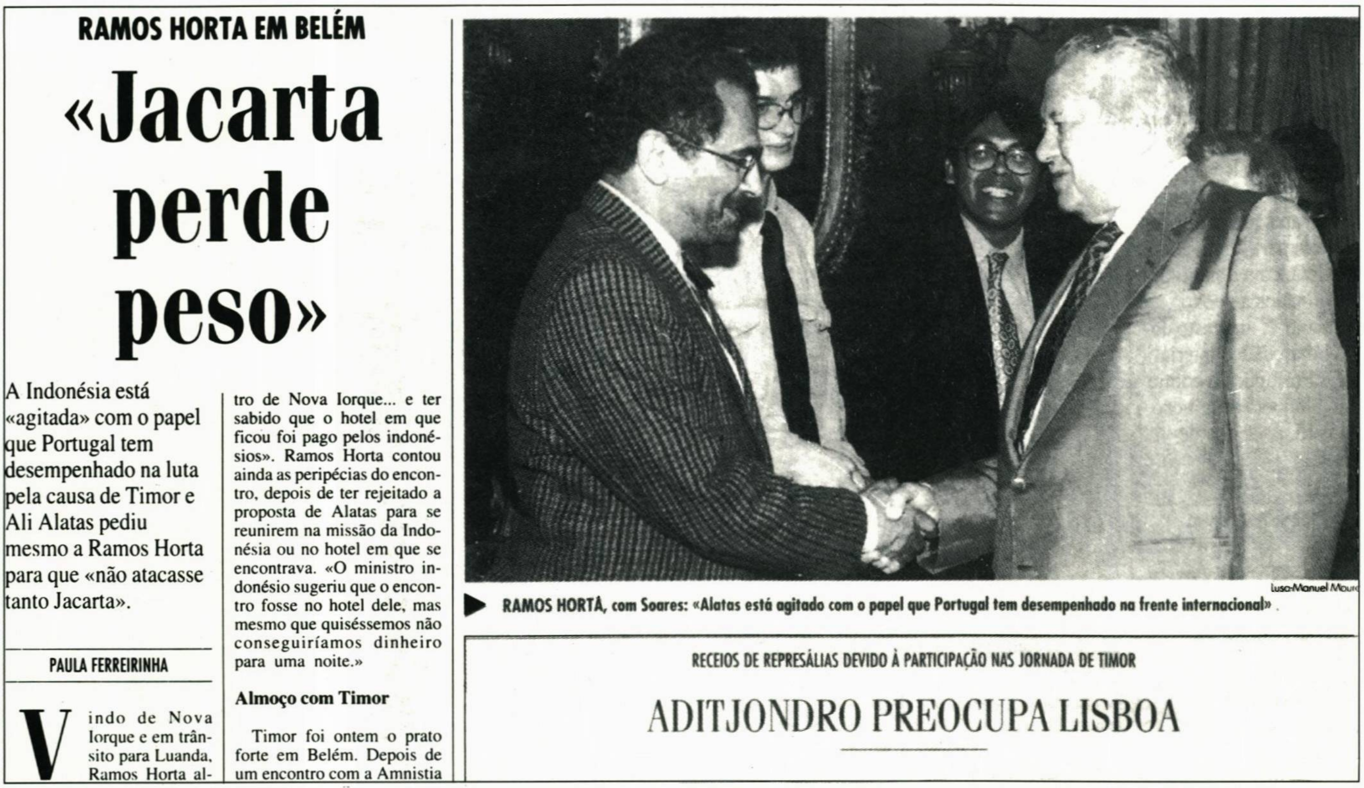
VI JORNADAS DE TIMOR DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

TIMOR LESTE,
UMA RESPONSABILIDADE
INTERNACIONAL

Comissão de Honra:
Presidente da República
Primeiro Ministro
Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros
Ministra da Educação
Secretária de Estado da Juventude
Governador Civil do Porto
Presidente da Câmara Municipal do Porto
Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
Presidente da Câmara Municipal da Amadora
Secretário da Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa
Bispo da Igreja Lusitana (Comunhão Anglicana)
Iman da Mesquita de Lisboa

Comissão Organizadora:
Prof. Alberto Amaral – (Reitor Univ. Porto)
Prof. Nuno Grande – (Pró-Reitor Univ. Porto)
A. Barbedo de Magalhães – (Coordenador)

Secretariado:
Fac. Engenharia, U.P.
Rua dos Bragas – 4099 PORTO CODEX
Tel.: (02) 200 21 48 • Fax: (02) 31 91 25



RAMOS HORTA EM BELÉM

«Jacarta perde peso»

A Indonésia está «agitada» com o papel que Portugal tem desempenhado na luta pela causa de Timor e Ali Alatas pediu mesmo a Ramos Horta para que «não atacasse tanto Jacarta».

PAULA FERREIRINHA

Vindo de Nova Iorque e em trânsito para Luanda, Ramos Horta al-

tro de Nova Iorque... e ter sabido que o hotel em que ficou foi pago pelos indonésios». Ramos Horta contou ainda as peripécias do encontro, depois de ter rejeitado a proposta de Alatas para se reunirem na missão da Indonésia ou no hotel em que se encontrava. «O ministro indonésio sugeriu que o encontro fosse no hotel dele, mas mesmo que quiséssemos não conseguiríamos dinheiro para uma noite.»

Almoço com Timor

Timor foi ontem o prato forte em Belém. Depois de um encontro com a Amnistia

Lusa-Manuel Mou

▶ RAMOS HORTÁ, com Soares: «Alatas está agitado com o papel que Portugal tem desempenhado na frente internacional».

RECEIOS DE REPRESÁLIAS DEVIDO À PARTICIPAÇÃO NAS JORNADA DE TIMOR

ADITJONDRO PREOCUPA LISBOA

The Representative of the Maubere Resistance, José Ramos Horta, greeting the Portuguese President during the Sixth Symposium after a meeting he had in New York with the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister in 6 October 1994. In the meantime the press reveals fears of reprisals against Professor George Aditjondro.

Third phase: International Closing Session of the Second Introductory Course on Indonesia and East Timor and of the Sixth Symposium on Timor of OU.

12.1 – INTERNATIONAL OPENING SESSIONS OF THE SIXTH SYMPOSIUM AND COMPLEMENTARY MEETINGS, WITH SIGNIFICANT INDONESIAN AND PHILIPPINE PARTICIPATION

The international and Opening Sessions took place in Oporto University on 4-5 October. Five Indonesian citizens residing in Indonesia who had come from Indonesia expressly for the Symposium and the Iserlohn Conference took part. Two Indonesian jurists were not able to leave the country, given the pressures and interrogations to which they were subjected shortly before the Symposium began.

In the October Sessions of the Sixth Symposium on Timor of OU the main organizers of the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) in Manila from 31 May to 4 June 1994, namely the President of the conference, Renato Constantino, Jr. and Augusto Miclat, Jr. (Executive Director of Initiatives for International Dialogue) took part, along with the engineer Ms Ellen Sana, member of the Philippine Council for International Solidarity and Peace and member of the secretariat of Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia (PHILSETI), created after APCET, as well as the lawyer Ms Eleanor Conda, Director of the Women's Legal Bureau, among others.

The Symposium was honored by the participation of the Nobel Peace Prize winner Mairead Maguire (Northern Ireland) and of the Japanese Bishop Aloisius Soma, Honorary President of the Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor, created at the Manila Conference, in which the bishop, though initially on the blacklist, finally was able to participate.

Bishop Aloisius Soma, along with other Catholic personalities, such as Dr. Thomas Quigley (USA), Dr. Arnold Kohen (USA), Father Stefani Renato (Japan) and Father Jose Lopes Baptista (Portugal), held important meetings with the President and the Secretary of the Portuguese Council of Bishops, respectively Mons. João Alves, Bishop of Coimbra and Mons. Januário Torgal Ferreira, Auxiliary Bishop of Lisbon.

Foreign guests came from the following countries: Australia, Brazil, France, Germany, Holland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, the USA, and the United Kingdom.

Some Timorese living abroad were invited as well.

In addition to the International Sessions at Oporto University, complementary public sessions were organized in the universities of the Minho, Coimbra, the Catholic University (Oporto and Lisbon) and in the University of Lisbon, the Technical University of Lisbon and the New University of Lisbon. With the support of the Academic Association of the International University and of the Figueira da Foz City Hall, a very interesting and well-attended debate took place in this town.

The Working Sessions included encounters with union leaders of UGT, CGTP and the Union of Journalists,

Academic may be charged for giving a lecture

One of Indonesia's best-known academics has been hauled before the police and interrogated for a gruelling 15 hours about a lecture he gave at an on-campus seminar about political renewal in Indonesia. The Aditjondro case also has broader implications for the fate of academic freedom in Indonesia.

Dr George Aditjondro was summoned for interrogation as a 'suspect' for possible charge under Article 207 of the Criminal Code which makes it an offence to "insult a government official deliberately". If charged, he could be jailed for up to eighteen months.

The Timor connection

George Aditjondro who lectures with the Post-Graduate Programme of the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, has become well known in the past year for his research on the political, social and economic situation in East Timor and for his outspoken denunciation of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of the territory. When some of his East Timor papers were made public in Australia earlier this year, he and his family were harassed and it appeared likely that he would be disciplined or even sacked. But the campaign of vilification died down.

The police in Yogyakarta, backed by the security authorities in Central Java, are now after him for a lecture he delivered at a seminar at *Universitas Islam Indonesia* in Yogyakarta, in August. The topic of the seminar was "The Urgency of Political Renewal in the Democratisation Process in Indonesia" and Aditjondro was originally asked to appear as a discussant for a lecture by former Minister of the Interior, General Rudini. Shortly before the seminar, the conveners asked him to perform the same role for a lecture by another panel speaker, General Soemitro, former chief of the army's security command, Kopkamtib as others asked to do so were unable to come.

George Aditjondro (right) with Prof. Barbedo Magelhaes, in Portugal, shortly after receiving news of the police summons.

Jornadas de Timor já mexem

Prémio Nobel da Paz propõe bispo de Díli para aquele galardão

Última página

NEM MAIS UMA ARMA PARA A INDONÉSIA

- APELO DA "PRÉMIO NOBEL" MAIREAD MAGUIRE EM ENTREVISTA AO *JN*

POLÍTICA

Mairead Maguire deslocou-se ao Porto, a convite da Universidade, para participar nas 6.ªs Jornadas sobre Timor. A Prémio Nobel da Paz/1976 disse ao JN que deveria ser suspensa, de imediato, a venda de armas à Indonésia, por forma a que este país asiático ponha fim ao genocídio do povo timorense. É acérrima defensora do diálogo como via ideal para a solução dos conflitos' e gostaria de ver D. Ximenes Belo receber o Prémio Nobel da Paz em 1995.

Foto Henrique Moreira

Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize, appealed for the boycott of the arms trade to Indonesia and proposed Bishop Ximenes Belo for the Nobel Peace Prize.

JORNADAS POR TIMOR-LESTE – XANANA EM DESTAQUE

TIMOR LESTE UMA RESPONS

Os reitores das universidades do Porto e de Coimbra estiveram na abertura dos trabalhos.

Fotc

As 6.ªs Jornadas de Timor começaram ontem na reitoria da Universidade do Porto. Vários intervenientes sublinharam, na sessão de abertura, a ideia de que Timor-Leste

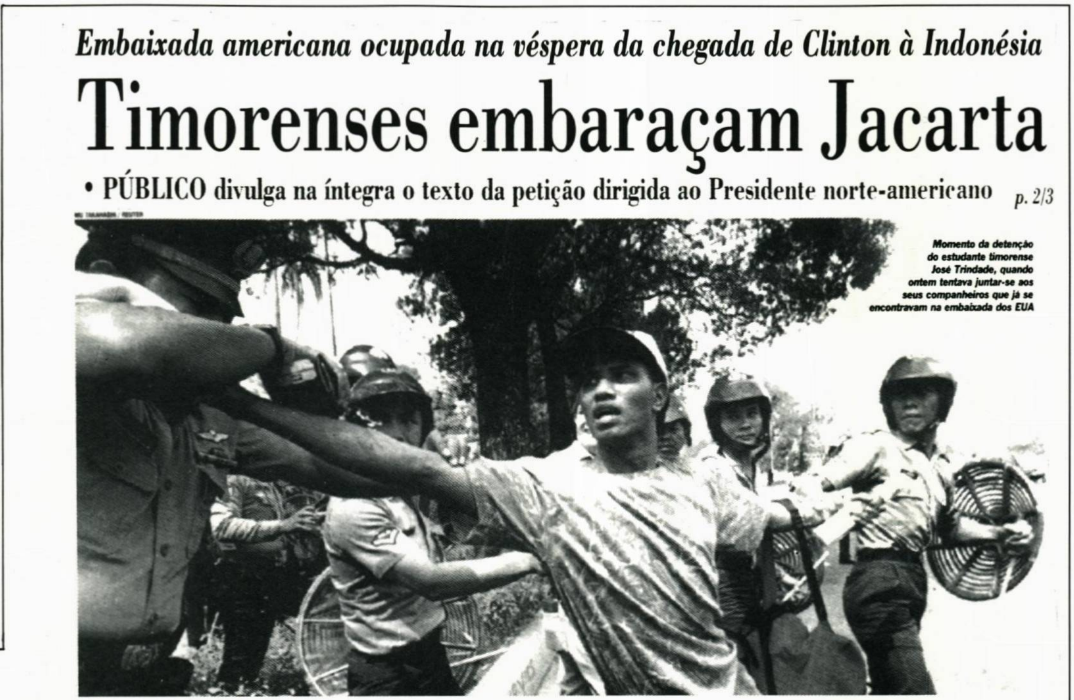
ganizadora e figura que há muitos anos acompanha de perto a questão timorense, realçou a ideia central destas jornadas: a de que Timor-Leste é uma responsabilidade internacional e que os timorenses não devem ser os únicos a "arrostar" com a luta pela auto-determinação.

nos Estados Unidos para parti nas conversações. Outra das au cias foi a de Mário Soares, que i cou motivos inadiáveis.

Zacarias da Costa, vice-presid da UDT, por seu lado, sublir que "é com confiança" que enc "aproximação da liberdade e d

Mrs. Mairead Maguire withe Professor Rui Alarcão, President of Coimbra University, and the President of Oporto University (OU) Professor Alberto Amaral.

The attention of Portuguese and international media was turned towards East Timor, rather then to the APEC meeting, as a consequence of the "occupation" of the American Embassy in Jakarta.



Embaixada americana ocupada na véspera da chegada de Clinton à Indonésia

Timorenses embaraçam Jacarta

• PÚBLICO divulga na íntegra o texto da petição dirigida ao Presidente norte-americano *p. 2/3*

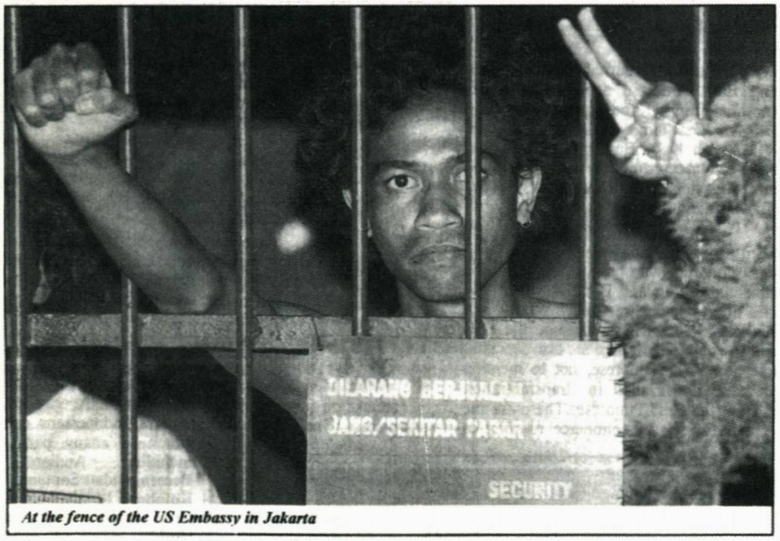
Momento da detenção do estudante timorense José Trindade, quando ontem tentava juntar-se aos seus companheiros que já se encontravam na embaixada dos EUA

Seeking security in Portugal

After holding out at the embassy for ten days, the East Timorese announced that they had decided to accept an offer from the Portuguese government to go to Portugal. Two days before, one of the 29 who was injured when he scaled the railings and was running a high temperature probably suffering from typhoid fever, was rushed to hospital; another friend accompanied him there for protection. While in hospital, they were under guard from ten policemen and not allowed to receive visitors except for US embassy staff.

Another twenty, some of whom escaped arrest at the train station and others who came to Jakarta from other parts of Java, also appear to have gone into hiding. Their safety must be a matter of grave concern.

Other Timorese studying at universities in Java have also been harassed. A group of students in Bandung who are members of Impettu, the officially-recognised association of East Timorese students, were summ
forces and ordered to issue a public sta
29 who were staging a sit-in at the en



At the fence of the US Embassy in Jakarta

European Parliament resolution

A resolution on the question of East Timor, adopted by the European Parliament at its November session, took note of the violent repression by the army of occupation against demonstrators in Dili who were marking the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November.

It condemned the behaviour of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor and expressed support for the people of East Timor. It fully supported Amnesty's recommendations to the Indonesian Government in its report, "Power and Impunity".

The resolution called on the EU Council to take firm measures to help solve the problem on the basis of negotiations under the aegis of the UN with representatives of the East Timor resistance and by means of a referendum.

The Parliament urged Member States to halt military aid and arms sales to Indonesia and urge the EU to suspend all economic co-operation with Indonesia as long as its illegal occupation of East Timor persists.

The resolution also asked the Commission to investigate the alleged link between aid and arms from the British Government and to propose a regulation that would prevent such a linkage in future.

Finally, it reiterated its view that a parliamentary delegation should be sent to East Timor.

with women's organizations, with solidarity groups and with the Timorese community.

In the VI Symposium, special emphasis should be given to the lunch given by the President of Portugal, Dr. Mario Soares, in 7 October 1994, to nearly 20 guests of the 15 foreign countries present in the Symposium, in addition to Timorese representatives, Portuguese MPs and other personalities.

Also important was the meeting of Foreign Minister Dr. Durão Barroso with a delegation of 10 participants in the Openning Sessions of the VI Symposium, nearly all of whom were foreigners.

The dinner hosted by Oporto City Hall to the foreign guests was also significant, as an indication of the interest with which the city government and the Mayor, Dr. Fernando Gomes, follow the issue of Timor.

12.2 – THE SECOND INTRODUCTORY COURSE ON INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR, AND THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG TIMORESE WHO "OCCUPIED" THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN JAKARTA

The Second Introductory Course on Indonesia and East Timor was opened in Oporto University by Dr. George Aditjondro, professor at Kristen Satya Wacana Universitas of Salatiga, Java, Indonesia.

Curiously, only a few hours after his Inaugural Lesson, Professor Aditjondro received by telephone the information that the Indonesian police had gone to his home in Salatiga to notify him to present himself to give a deposition. He thus had to hasten back to Indonesia, where he was insistently interrogated. His house was stoned, and his wife and the rest of his family received threats. In order to avoid further problems, he did not go to Portugal to close the Course, as had originally been planned.

In the Universities of Coimbra and Lisbon the inaugural lessons were given by Professor Benedict Anderson (Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor of International Studies) of Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA. Professor Benedict Anderson, besides being extremely clear in his explanations, is justly considered one ot the greatest specialists in the world on Modern Indonesia. He is the author of three books on Indonesia, director of the "Cornell Modern lndonesia Project" and founder and editor of the Indonesia Journal".

The Portuguese component of the Course, with eight sessions at twoweek intervals, which took place in the Universities of Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon, had an enrollment of more than 180 students, 120 of whom attended 2/3 or more of the classes, of a total of 30 hours.

After the end of November, the Course in Lisbon counted on the participation of many of the 29 young Timorese who on 12 November 1994 (three years after the Santa Cruz Massacre), occupied the parking lot of the American Embassy in Jakarta, very near the Palace of the President of Indonesia.

This courageous act of the Timorese young people, coming shortly before the arrival of the American President Clinton to Indonesia to take part in the APEC (Asia Pacific Economical Conference) spoiled the effect Indonesia had hoped to make with this conference. With their determination and courage, the young Timorese, who in all likelihood counted on the support of Indonesia citizens (and probably even Indonesian generals), took the struggle for self-determination to the heart of Jakarta, to the seat of power of the Indonesian regime, and attracted the attention of the main Indonesian and international mass media to the problem of East Timor.

ARMS SALES

British arms deals with Jakarta forge ahead

Huge new arms deals between the UK and Indonesia under negotiation will make Britain Indonesia's leading supplier of weapons. The deals are part of a massive expansion in Britain's commercial relations with the Suharto dictatorship.

London's leading Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, reported on 13 November 1994 that *"Britain is assembling a huge arms deal with Indonesia, in defiance of international calls for a weapons embargo because of the country's appalling human rights record. The secret deal is worth an estimated £2 billion."*

The London *Times* [14.XI.1994] said Britain is competing for deals worth up to £6.1 billion. Whatever the figure, British exports of weapons of death to the Indonesian armed forces are set to forge ahead on an unprecedented scale.

In October, Britain's chief of defence staff, Field-Marshal Sir Peter Inge, announced in Jakarta that Indonesia was planning to purchase another16 Hawks, on top of the deal worth £500 million for 24 Hawks in June 1993. Sir Peter Inge said Indonesia would buy Scorpion light tanks, highly mobile vehicles, suited for use in heavily wooded territory like East Timor or Aceh, or on the streets against demonstrators.

Without a moment's
of these arms deals, the
by reporters with the iss

"It is not for me to g
country." [*Jakarta Time.*

"Indonesia is always on the look-out for technology transfer from the West and any deal will almost certainly involve a degree of barter, such as mineral and logging concessions. In Thatcher's day, Malaysia was number one. Now it's Indonesia."

Aid-for-arms scandal

The news of these deals came at a particularly sensitive time in the UK. A small non-governmental organisation, the *World Development Movement*, had just won a High Court action against the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, declaring his decision to grant aid of £234 million to fund the Pergau dam project in Malaysia illegal. The project was the focus of huge controversy after it became known earlier this year, following the leaking of a secret agreement between London and Kuala Lumpur, that the aid had been agreed in 1987 by the Thatcher government as a 'sweetener' to pave the way for

ARMS FOR AID

University students protest

On 15 November, some 600 students at the East Timor

cases, the victims are tl

The numbers arrest

STOP THE GENOCIDE IN EAST TIMOR
STOP SELLING HAWKS TO INDONESIA

Film-maker/writer John Pilger addressing the 12 November demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy in London. The focus was on Britain's sales of arms to Indonesia.

Hawks used in East Timor

Jose Ramos-Horta of CNRM issued a statement on 16th November 1994 on the recent use of Hawks in East Timor.

"During August and September 1994, two Hawk aircraft carried out at least six bombing raids in the eastern region of East Timor. Hawks and US-supplied Broncos are stationed at the Baucau airport which is capable of receiving commercial aircraft up to Boeing 707s. Since the invasion in 1975, the civilian airport has been converted to a military base. In the last three months, Hawk aircraft have been used extensively mostly in the eastern region with an average of six sorties a day, each bombing raid lasting 10 minutes with the launching of two missiles each.

Some raids seemed to be almost at random without the pilot aiming at guerrilla targets but at any remote hamlet. On 23 September, at 11.15am between Kelikai and Baguia, a missile hit a thatched-roof house setting it on fire and destroying six impoverished houses. There were no survivors observed among some 30 inhabitants, mainly women and children.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) called on Portugal to take the British Government to the International Court of Justice and the European Human Rights Court for "providing economic, financial and military assistance to Indonesia which enables it to pursue the war of aggression against East Timor in violation of the UN Charter and relevant UN Security Council resolutions".

Actively participant through out the debate, in spite of their many problems with the Portuguese language, the Timorese gave a very significant contribution to the course, which addressed, during each class, both the past history and the present day situation. These youngsters became, thus, improvised teachers, very knowledgeable about the recent Indonesian reality and the Timorese Resistance.

12.3 – THE CLOSING SESSIONS OF THE VI SYMPOSIUM AND THE PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANISATION OF INITIATIVES IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES

The Closing Sessions of the VI Symposium on Timor of Oporto University took place in the Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of the University of Lisbon, from the 23rd till the 26th of March, 1995.

23 A 26 DE MAI
T LE E UM PONSAE

Timorese leaders José Guterres (FRETILIN), João Carrascalão (UDT) and José Ramos Horta (CNRM and special representative of Xanana Gusmão) at the and of the Sixth Symposium.

Amongst the participants were several prominent leaders of the Timorese Resistance outside the territory — Dr. José Ramos Horta, leader of CNRM outside Timor and special representative of Xanana Gusmão, Dr. José Luis Guterres, Head of the Foreign Delegation of FRETILIN, and Eng. João Carrascalão, President of UDT.

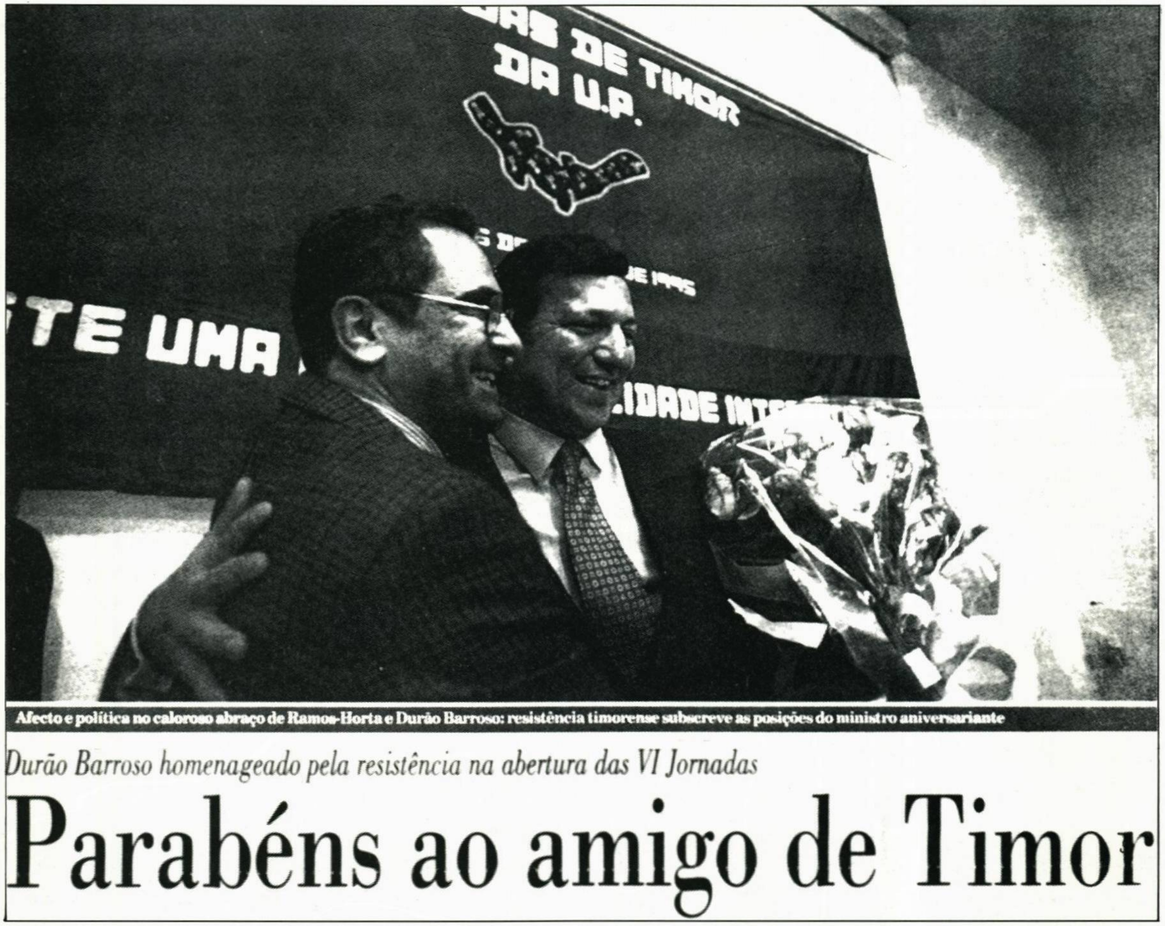
Other Timorese leaders were also present, both those who are living in Lisbon and those who are living abroad — Australia, Canada, United States of America, Mozambique, Angola, etc.

The VI Symposium had foreign guests coming from nineteen different nations (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Indonesia, Japan, Mozambique, Northem Ireland, Norway, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States of America).

The President of the Republic, Dr. Mario Soares, invited a delegation of Timorese leaders and foreign participants for a special lunch. Moreover, the President presided the Closing Lesson of the Course, during which Professor Benedict Anderson, from Cornell University, USA, very clearly lectured on *"Suharto, the Military and the Evolution of the Indonesian Regime"*.

The speech given by the President of the Republic during this closing session was notable. It was remarkable for its *honesty* — referring to the less commendable examples of Portuguese actions — for its *good sense* — asking for the unity of the Timorese — for the underlying *hope* — since dictatorships, the Indonesian as well as the Portuguese, which fell down in 1974, are not eternal regimes — and for the *determination* that expired from someone that fought for so many years against the Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship.

The Portuguese President recalled the times during which he himself was arrested and deported, for opposing



AS DE TIMOR
DA U.P.
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Afecto e política no caloroso abraço de Ramos-Horta e Durão Barroso: resistência timorense subscreve as posições do ministro aniversariante

Durão Barroso homenageado pela resistência na abertura das VI Jornadas

Parabéns ao amigo de Timor

Foreign Affairs Minister Durão Barroso received warm greetings on his birthday from the participants of the VIth Symposium for his coherent and firm diplomatic standing in the East Timor issue.

colonialism and the dictatorship that was oppressing Portugal. He saluted both the Timorese and the Indonesian citizens that fight so courageously for the very same universal rights of justice and freedom. He enhanced the role of the two great Timorese leaders, Xanana Gusmão and the Bishop Ximenes Belo.

Comparing Xanana with Nelson Mandela, the President Mario Soares stated that this *"prisoner in his prison cell today, represents much more than when he was fighting together with the Guerrilla. Today, Xanana Gusmão is a symbol. He is a symbol not only to the Timorese People but also to the Indonesian People"*.

Referring to Bishop Ximenes Belo, the President considered him worthy of the Nobel Prize, *"the figure of the Bishop, courageous, alone as well, fearless of speaking and speaking clearly and saying the right things at the right moment, this Bishop has gained the respect of both the Indonesians and the Church"*.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs presided another public session. In his speech he spoke of East Timor as *"a problem put to the consciousness of all the people and governments that subscribed the principles of the Letter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights"*.

Reminding that *"East Timor is still, today, a non-autonomous colonial territory"* and that *"the Timorese People is not only suppressed from its legitimate right of self-determination, but it has also been subjected, during the later years of Indonesian occupation, to a regime of oppression and utterly brutal disregard violation of basic human rights",* he concluded that

"the perpetuation of the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor is intolerable. It constitutes a challenge to the international community as a whole. It violates International Law, scorns international morality, ignores the specific United Nations Resolutions, disrespects the United Nations deliberations as well as its practice and clearly puts at stake the authority of the Security Council. In summary, it bluntly discredits the international legality built upon the principles and mechanisms of the Letter of the United Nations".

After remembering the East Timorese People as the most important part of the Question of East Timor, the Portuguese, Minister stated:

"We can never forget that — as stated in the Art. 73ª of the Letter of the United Nations — as a colonised territory, the interests of the East Timorese People prevail over any other that happen to be at stake. The principles here at stake are the East Timorese rights. Portugal, as the administrative power, and thus with special responsibilities, acts essentialy as the 'lawyer' of East Timor at the international stances, trying to have legality restored and the Law fulfilled. Portugal's role stops there. It has no other interests to protect."

He then reminded that

"The courage displayed by the demonstrators of the November 12, 1991 as well as that of the students who went inside the American Embassy in Jakarta, at the time of the APEC meeting, did more for the East Timorese struggle than any other outside initiatives. It is the Timorese People itself that does not allow the silence upon a definite matter. And it is the revolt of the Timorese People that highlights the injustice and violence of the 'status quo' rather than allowing time to consolidate occupation. After all, after almost twenty years, the people living inside the territory demonstrates its will has it has never done before.

"The question of East Timor is not limited, hence, to a bilateral dispute between Portugal and Indonesia. Thus, it can never be solved through a bilateral agreement between Portugal and Indonesia. Any solution for east Timor implies, as an essential element, the participation and adherence of the Timorese People. It also requires its expressed validation by the international community."

The Minister of foreign Affairs explained, later on, the *"Portuguese strategy for a global solution achieved peacefully":*

— *"On the one hand, the continuation of the dialogue with Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations, trying to forge an agreement that abides by the principles of the Letter of the United Nations and the legitimate rights of the East Timorese People;*

— *"On the other hand, the continuation of the effort to sensitise the international community to the need for a just, internationally acceptable solution for the problem of East Timor's right to practice self-determination and live in accordance to the Human Rights."*

Furthermore, mirroring the general feelings of the Portuguese and even of the Timorese, the Minister of Foreign Affairs explained:

"I have repeatedly stated that Portugal has nothing against neither the nation nor the people of Indonesia, which, as such, deserve all our respect, and to whom

Estudioso japonês investiga peça central da argumentação indonésia sobre Timor

PUBLICO 28-3-95 (VI JORNADAS)

Quantas são e quem escreveu as declarações de Balibó?

Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros

Não há declaração de Ali Alatas sobre Timor em que o MNE indonésio não fale na proclamação de Balibó. O

a sua presença em Timor-Leste.

Foi sobre esse documento que o estudioso japonês Akihisa Matsuno, professor de Língua e Cultura Indonésia na Universidade de Osaka, lançou o seu olhar de investigador. O resultado, que Matsuno diz ser "mais da natureza das conjec-

tamento de Informação da República da Indonésia e registada como documento oficial nas Nações Unidas. É a esta versão que Ali Alatas e Lopes da Cruz têm em mente nas suas habituais referências à Declaração de Balibó.

Para além de apresentar um inglês perfeito, a versão da

Matsuno — começa a desenhar-se. E volta a insinuar-se na segunda grande omissão. Enquanto o texto original atribuía a separação de Timor em duas partes a duas potências coloniais, Portugal e a Holanda, a versão da ONU omite as referências à Holanda e opta por falar apenas na separação

gestos de boa vontade para evitar o conflito pelo qual a Fretilin é responsabilizada. Matsuno assinala que, sem esta referência, todos os esforços de conciliação ficariam associados a não-timorenses — Austrália, Portugal, a própria Indonésia —, o que remeteria os signatários da Declaração à
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de quase todo o texto. Menos na sua parte essencial, aquela em que se pede a integração.

Aí, nota Matsuno, é a presença do padrão indonésio que prevalece. Nomeadamente na frase crucial em que se pede ao Governo de Jacarta que proteja as vidas dos que a partir daquele momento se consideram parte do povo indonésio.

A fórmula gramatical escolhida — "(...) The Government and the people of Indonesia are requested to take the necessary steps (...)" — chega a ser difícil de reproduzir em português. Usa-se a voz passiva para dizer algo como "(...) o Governo e o Povo da Indonésia são pedidos a tomar os passos necessários (...)". Se o padrão português tivesse prevalecido, argumenta Matsuno, o modelo de construção teria sido certamente "(...) Nós pedimos ao Governo e ao Povo da Indonésia (...)".

Foi com observações como estas que o investigador japonês quis "mostrar a possibilidade e a importância" de investigar o texto que a Indonésia "tem tentado fazer passar como um documento histórico que reflecte as genuínas aspirações do povo de Timor-Leste". Trata-se de "uma pretensão inválida", conclui Akihisa

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DESTAQUE

"Indonésios são piores que comu

Paulo Nogueira
enviado da Agência Lusa, especial para o PÚBLICO

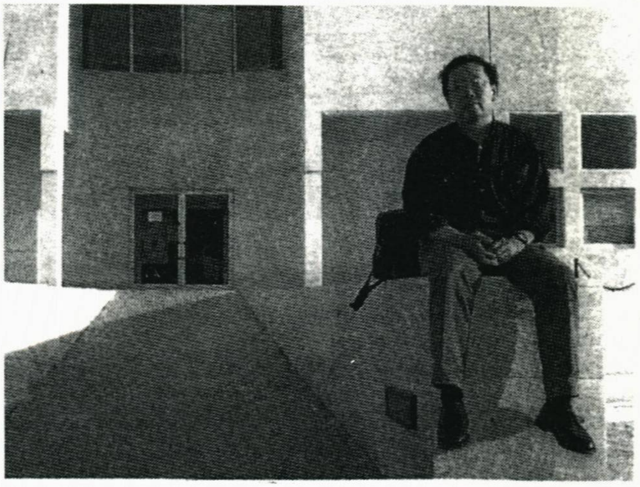
O bispo Ximenes Belo acusa os militares indonésios de o terem tentado matar em duas ocasiões, em 1989 e 1991, e admite que a Santa Sé ceda às pressões de Jacarta e o afaste de Díli, mas afirma estar preparado para tudo, "até para ir para o inferno". Num encontro em Díli ocorrido em Novembro passado com o enviado especial da agência Lusa e que o PÚBLICO relata em exclusivo, o prelado

PAULO NOGUEIRA/LUSA

Oposicionistas indonésios ao PÚBLICO

27-3-95- PUBLICO

Xanana é ídolo dos jovens em Jacarta



In the press: Japanese academic denounces the fraud of the Balibó Declarations.

Bishop Ximenes Belo considers Indonesian occupiers worse than communists and demands: — "Take our oil but let us be free!"

An Indonesian participant reveals that Xanana has become an idol for the Youth in Jakarta.

we have several historical and cultural links. The persistence of the present Indonesian government in illegally occupying East Timor, for with it uses violence and repression, is a mistake that leads to a general political, diplomatic and image wastage that goes against the interests of that country. The politics of conquest and subjugation is unacceptable and anachronistic. Recent History shows that nothing solid comes out of oppression and disregard for human rights and liberties. I am certain that, one day, East Timor will have free choice to chose its way. We will surely find in Jakarta an open an democratic regime, and the multisecular relations between Portugal and Indonesia will be renovated".

Concluding his speech, and recalling the meeting that he had had the previous day with a delegation of the foreign participants, the Minister received an unanimous applause for the clearness and the determinations that it revealed

"As I had the opportunity to say to some of you, yesterday, I am convinced that the self-determination of East Timor is not an unreal objective. A few years ago the self-determination of Namibia did not seem conceivable, nor did the independence of Eritrea, the recent events in Palestine, the come back of the Baltic States, etc.... and yet, these are present realities, capable of restoring our hope and determination in the struggle for East Timor".

The closing sessions had several high points. Impossible to enumerate them all. Just a few examples include the classes given by Professor Benedict Anderson, from Cornell University, USA, which showed exceptional clarity and quality, but also the classes given by Dr. Peter Carey, from Oxford University, UK, and so many others, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Indonesian and other specialists.

A very special historical moment stood out during the Symposium. Dr. Akihisa Matsuno, associate Professor at Osaka University of Foreign Studies, presented his study on the *Declaration of Balibó*. Using his knowledge of linguistic, especially of the Indonesian language in which he specialised, as well as his vast culture, Dr. Akihisa Matsuno demonstrated that the *Declaration of Babiló*, upon which stands the Indonesian arguments justifying the invasion, has not been entirely written by Timorese. At least some fundamental parts will have been written by Indonesians. Indeed the grammar constructions of a few sentences give away the fraud that the Indonesian government has produced the *Declaration of Babiló* as the genuine expression of the will of the leaders of four Timorese political parties, a document publicised as having been freely written and signed by them on the 29 of November 1974.

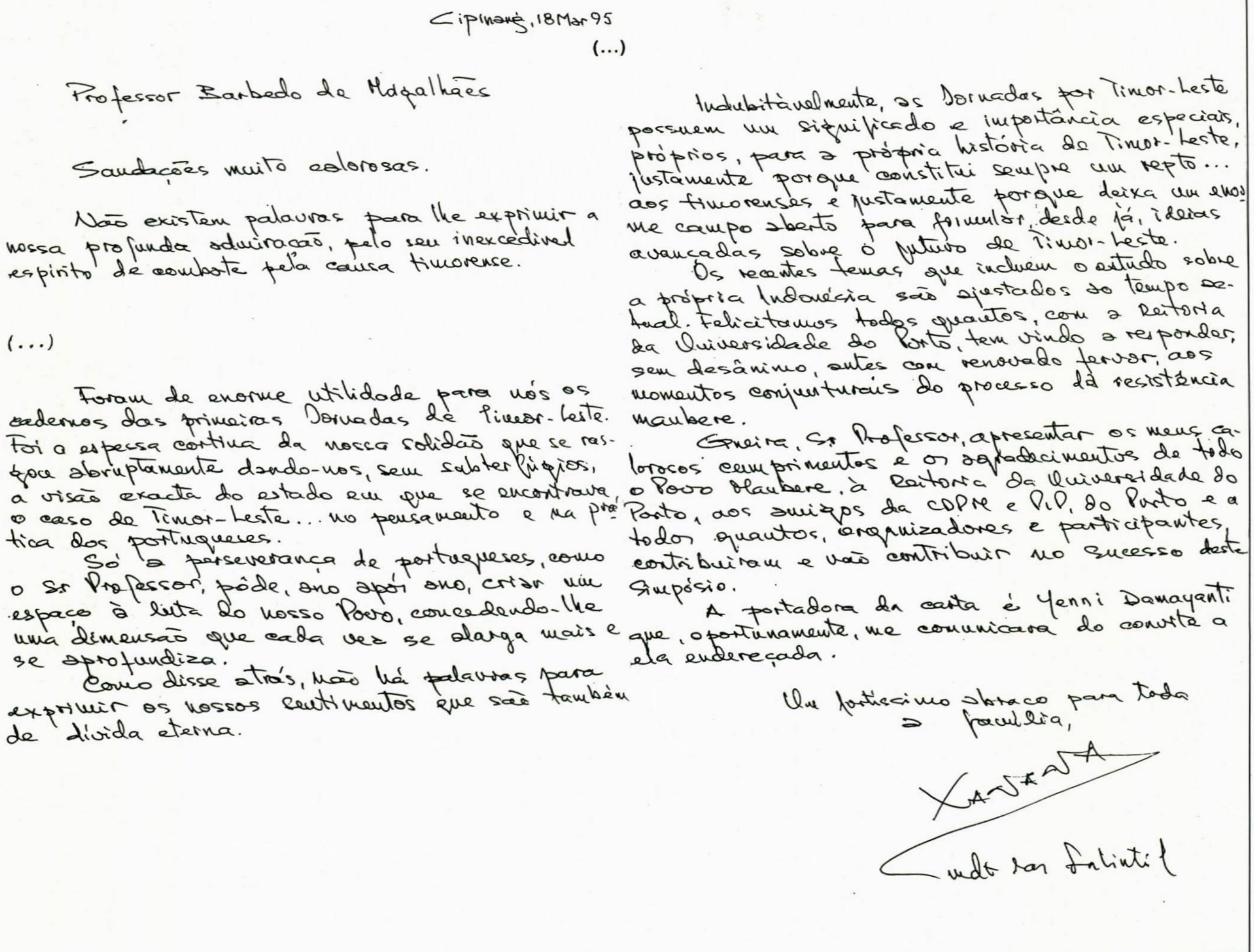
Thus, the study of professor Matsuno backs the statement of the former Australian Consul in Dili, James Dunn, according to whom the text of the declaration will have been written by colonel Sugyanto, and a secret agent called Taolin, who were deeply involved in *Operasi Komodo,* a military operation that aimed the de-stabilisation of the East Timorese territory, so as to justify the Indonesian intervention.

By demonstrating that the document was not entirely written by Timorese, the first and main material proof that backs the Indonesian arguments has been destroyed.

It was the Deputy Fernando do Amaral, President of the Ad hoc Committee for the Follow Up of the East Timorese Situation, who presided the session during which Dr. Akihiso Matsuno presented his study. As a jurist, he stated that the excellent speech given by the Japanese Professor corroborated the assertion that *"sometimes, the defunct speaks louder than a thousand live witnesses of the crime that victimised him"*. That is, the material proof of the body often says more about the crime than the testimony of the living witnesses.

However, in the present case, two witnesses were present in the then ongoing session, one of which had even

MENSAGEM DE XANANA GUSMÃO
PARA AS VI JORNADAS DE TIMOR DA U.P.
LIDA NA SESSÃO DE ENCERRAMENTO



Cipinang, 18Mar95

(...)

Professor Barbedo de Magalhães

Saudações muito calorosas.

Não existem palavras para lhe exprimir a nossa profunda admiração, pelo seu inexcedível espírito de combate pela causa timorense.

(...)

Foram de enorme utilidade para nós os cadernos das primeiras Jornadas de Timor-Leste. Foi a espessa cortina da nossa solidão que se rasgou abruptamente dando-nos, sem subterfúgios, a visão exacta do estado em que se encontrava o caso de Timor-Leste... no pensamento e na prática dos portugueses.

Só a perseverança de portugueses, como o Sr Professor, pôde, ano após ano, criar um espaço à luta do nosso Povo, concedendo-lhe uma dimensão que cada vez se alarga mais e se aprofundiza.

Como disse atrás, não há palavras para exprimir os nossos sentimentos que são também de dívida eterna.

Indubitàvelmente, as Jornadas por Timor-Leste possuem um significado e importância especiais, próprios, para a própria história de Timor-Leste, justamente porque constitui sempre um repto... aos timorenses e justamente porque deixa um enorme campo aberto para formular, desde já, ideias avançadas sobre o futuro de Timor-Leste.

Os recentes temas que incluem o estudo sobre a própria Indonésia são ajustados ao tempo actual. Felicitamos todos quantos, com a Reitoria da Universidade do Porto, tem vindo a responder, sem desânimo, antes com renovado fervor, aos momentos conjunturais do processo da resistência maubere.

Queira, Sr Professor, apresentar os meus calorosos cumprimentos e os agradecimentos de todo o Povo Maubere, à Reitoria da Universidade do Porto, aos amigos da CDPM e P.P. do Porto e a todos quantos, organizadores e participantes, contribuiram e vão contribuir no sucesso deste Simpósio.

A portadora da carta é Yenni Damayanti que, oportunamente, me comunicara do convite a ela endereçada.

Um fortíssimo abraço para toda a família,

XANANA

Cmdt das Falintil

Message of Xanana Gusmão to the Sixth Symposium on Timor of OU, read in the Closing Session.

subscribed the Declaration. They both recalled that the document had been signed in Bali, and not in Babiló (Timor) and that the subscribers had been forced to do it at gun point. Moreover, that Indonesian death threats had befallen all the Timorese that requested refuge in Indonesia, following the short civil war that took place in August-September 1974, instigated by Indonesia herself.

In order to save themselves and the Timorese community from the Indonesian threats, the Timorese leaders, prisoners after all, had no choice but to sign the documents that the Indonesians had forged.

The Co-ordinator if the Symposium then recalled that the Portuguese that were in Timor at that time as much as the Timorese leaders and all the Maubere People, were also victims of the Indonesian deceit, backed by the major nations of the world.

Hence, the solidarity that the shared drama built among the Timorese and the Portuguese, both victims of international interests stronger and wider that East Timor, Portugal or any of those inside Timorese territory.

Also important during this Symposium was the reception given by the Ad hoc Committee on Timor, at the Senate Room of the Portuguese parliament. Deputies from various different political parties unanimously showed their support to the struggle for self-determination of the Timorese People. Indeed, the Timorese Cause has had national consensus ever since 1975. All of the Assembly of the Republic Resolutions' on East Timor have been approved unanimously, in spite of the different political ideas present at the Parliament.

One of the Deputies, Captain of the April Revolution which freed Portugal in 1974, emotionally and frankly confessed that the ideals of April have not yet been accomplished nor would they be ever, not while East Timor is not free and its People cannot democratically choose its future.

At that meeting, the Co-ordinator of the Symposium as well as other participants expressed all of their support to an important initiative that the Eventual Commission on Timor is planning to organise from May, 31 till the June, 3: — *Interparliamentary Conference of Lisbon for East Timor"*

Finally, the meeting that put together the Deans of six Portuguese Universities (or their representatives) as well as Portuguese and foreign academics, agreed upon the relevance of internationally divulge the Timorese fight, as well as upon the significance of the Universities and academic work to do it. Thus, the hypothesis of having joint University initiatives in several foreign countries, in the next future, included or not in the VII Symposium of OU, was raised. These initiatives, joining Portuguese and foreign Universities, would always count with the presence of, at least one Timorese leader, one representative of a Portuguese University and, whenever possible, an Indonesian democrat.

During the Closing Session of the VI Symposium, in March 26, a letter signed by Xanana Gusmão, imprisoned at Cipinang (Jakarta), joined the maximum leader and symbol of the Timorese Resistance to the initiatives that had taken place.

An *Hooray!* to Xanana Gusmão and a free East Timor ended the VI Symposium, a meeting point for discussion and dialogue during which new bonds were forged, strengthening the solidarity that feeds Hope and givs a sense to Life.

Oporto, 19th May 1995

The Co-ordinator
of the Symposia on Timor of Oporto University

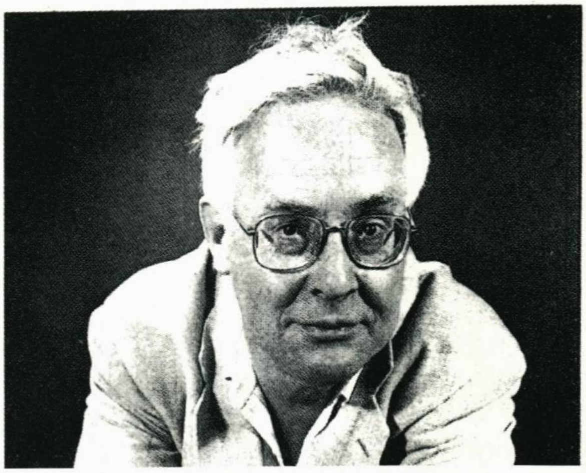
A. Barbedo Magalhães
Professor, Oporto University, Portugal

BENEDICT ANDERSEN E O PARADOXO DO NACIONALISMO INDONÉSIO

PÚBLICO
1/4/95

OCTÁVIO GAMEIRO

Longe da "realpolitik" a que as ciências políticas nos habituaram, Benedict Andersen analisa o peso de Timor-Leste no quadro de um regime indonésio em crise. Trinta anos de investigação permitem-lhe interpretar os silêncios, as representações e as metáforas que fazem de Timor um objecto espúrio do nacionalismo de Jacarta.



Testemunhou por diversas vezes junto do Congresso norte-americano e das Nações Unidas sobre a violação dos direitos humanos em Timor e na Indonésia. Chama-se Benedict Andersen, é irlandês e deslocou-se a Portugal, pela terceira vez, para participar nas VI Jornadas de Timor e no 2º Curso de Introdução à Indonésia e Timor-Leste, organizados em Lisboa pela Universidade do Porto. Publi-

mudanças nos comandos das forças armadas indonésias tem sido o verem-se livres da geração de generais pessoalmente ligados ao general Benny Murdani, muitos deles bastante poderosos como agentes dos serviços secretos e que estiveram envolvidos em Timor-Leste. Penso que isso aconteceu deliberadamente. Suharto tenta enfraquecer o que podemos considerar como o 'lobby' colonial no interior do exército.

P. — A questão de Timor terá hoje uma

Timor-Leste torna-se o centro das políticas indonésias

*Liem Soei Liong**

Activista indonésia pró-democracia agradece aos timorenses

"Obrigado por tirarem a máscara a Suharto"

Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros

É cada vez mais clara a consciência de que o destino

prisão, conseguiu deixar Jacarta para estar presente nas VI Jornadas por Timor, a decorrer em Lisboa, onde ontem falou num painel dedicado às relações entre o movimento pró-de-

quando chegaram a Java os primeiros grupos de estudantes timorenses. "Começámos a comunicar com eles", conta Yeni, "e começámos a perceber que tínhamos o mesmo

história é outra. Yeni Damayanti lamenta que o "extremo cuidado" de activistas mais velhos ainda os leve a considerar "tacticamente pouco adequado" incluir a questão de Timor

sistência timorense, no terreno e no exterior.

O papel da Igreja

universitário australiano, e do reverendo protestante holandês Peter Paul Lelivelt — e na sessão de perguntas que se lhes seguiu foram detectados alguns tímidos sinais de mudança nas di-

Benedict Anderson, Professor of Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., USA, explains the paradoxes of Indonesian Nationalism, while Indonesian participants state that East Timor has become central to Indonesian politics and thanks the Timorese for unmasking Suharto.

TERPIDANA MATI YON "SAYA TIDAK TERIMA"

SINAR

PENGAKUAN YENNY

WAWANCARA KHUSU

"Yang Demo LSM dan Evangelis"

50

Indonesian youth is also struggling for freedom.

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